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CATALOGUE OF THE
GREEK AND LATIN PAPYRI

VOLUME III

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CATALOGUE OF THE GREEK AND LATIN PAPYRI IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY MANCHESTER

VOLUME III

THEOLOGICAL AND LITERARY TEXTS

(NOS. 457–551)

EDITED BY

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WITH TEN PLATES

MANCHESTER

AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

1938

LETTERPRESS AND PLATES PRINTED
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, OXFORD
BY JOHN JOHNSON
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

GULIELMO SCHUBART

PRAECEPTORI ET AMICO

GRATO ANIMO

D.D.

EDITOR

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THE present volume (the third) of the *Catalogue of Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library* deals with the hitherto unexplored portions of the Rylands collection of papyri.

The history of the collection dates back to the time when Bernard P. Grenfell and his friend, and fellow Queen's man, Arthur S. Hunt, between 1895 and 1907, made a number of joint expeditions to Egypt, where among towns in the Fayûm, at Oxyrhynchus, and elsewhere, they were successful in making a number of most important finds.

It was during these joint expeditions that the nucleus of this collection was formed, at first for the Earl of Crawford, and after the acquisition, in 1901, of the Crawford Manuscripts for the Rylands Library, for the Governors of that institution.

The library's indebtedness to these two young scholars was further increased by their undertaking to prepare a catalogue of the collection. Unfortunately, ill-health and the pressure of other claims upon his time prevented Dr. Grenfell from taking any active part in this work, which consequently devolved upon Dr. Hunt.

The first volume of the resulting catalogue, which dealt with the literary texts, made its appearance in 1911. This was followed in 1915 by the second volume, devoted to documents of the Ptolemaic and Roman period, the preparation and publication of which was carried out by Dr. John Johnson (the present Printer to the University of Oxford), Dr. Victor Martin of Geneva, and Dr. A. S. Hunt.

Arrangements were made for the publication of the remaining portion of the collection, consisting of documents of the Byzantine period, which also included a further batch of fragments acquired in 1920 by Dr. Grenfell. This was to form the third volume of the *Catalogue*, to be undertaken by Dr. Hunt, but by his untimely death in 1934, the library was deprived of his services, even before he had done more than a little preliminary sorting.

It was fortunate that just before his death, Dr. Hunt had arranged with the present editor, Mr. C. H. Roberts, Fellow of St. John's College, to take over the work of preparing for publication the remainder of the Rylands collection, which in addition to the Grenfell-Hunt papyri included a further collection obtained by Dr. Rendel Harris during an enforced sojourn in Egypt, between November 1916 and May 1917, which were at once acquired by the Governors of the Library, although they were wisely left in safe custody in Egypt until such time as they could be transported to England without risk, and that was not possible until 1919.

It was in the process of sorting over the residue of the collection that Mr. Roberts found the Grenfell purchases to contain some extremely interesting papyri, including a number of literary texts, and a fragment of St. John's Gospel, which proved to be the earliest known fragment of the New Testament, and probably the earliest witness to the existence of the Gospel according to St. John.

Of such outstanding importance was this discovery regarded, that its publication in the *Catalogue* was anticipated by making the text available to scholars without delay by means of a special monograph prepared by Mr. Roberts.

Furthermore, in the course of a hurried examination of the Rendel Harris finds, another sensational discovery was made by Mr. Roberts of fragments of a papyrus roll of the Book of Deuteronomy in the Greek Version of the Septuagint, without doubt of the second century B.C., in other words three hundred years earlier than any other known MS. of the Bible in any language. This, also, is dealt with in the present volume of the catalogue, but it has been published in a separate monograph, edited by Mr. Roberts, uniform with the St. John fragment. So many biblical, theological, and literary fragments have been found amongst the unpublished fragments, that the third volume has been devoted exclusively to them, and a fourth volume has been planned in which the non-literary documents of the Ptolemaic, Roman and Byzantine periods, ranging in date from the third century B.C. to the sixth century A.D., will be dealt with.

For the difficult task of deciphering and describing the papyri dealt with in the following pages the Governors were fortunate in being able to secure the services of so competent a scholar as Mr. Roberts, and they desire to offer to him not only their most grateful thanks, but at the same time to congratulate him upon the masterly way in which he has presented the palaeographical and textual results of his investigations to our readers.

In concluding this note the writer desires on behalf of the Governors to acknowledge their indebtedness to Dr. Johnson, the Printer to the University of Oxford, and his staff for the interest and unremitting care they have bestowed upon the production of this volume.

HENRY GUPPY.
Librarian.

The John Rylands Library, Manchester.
March, 1938.

PREFACE

THE twenty-three years that have elapsed between the publication of this volume and that of its predecessor have seen the accession to the Library of two important collections of papyri, the miscellaneous collection acquired in 1917 and that bought for the Library by the late B. P. Grenfell in 1920. The present volume contains all the theological and literary texts from those collections (with the exception of two which are being held over for Volume IV) besides a few which formed part of the original purchase and were overlooked when Volume I was in preparation; of the ninety-five texts in this volume only three, **457**, **458**, and **460** have been previously published. The fourth and final volume of the catalogue, work on which is already in progress, will include the early Byzantine archive, originally destined by Hunt for Volume III, together with the documents of the Ptolemaic, Roman, and Byzantine periods acquired in 1917 and 1920.

The provenance of the great majority of the papyri in this volume is uncertain; a number of those purchased in 1920 were said to come either from the Fayûm or from Oxyrhynchus. In each case the date of acquisition is given at the head of the text, since it is hoped that this may provide a clue, however small, whereby other fragments of these texts, if there are any, may be traced. It is worth noting that other fragments of no less than seven texts included in this volume—in some cases actual joins can be established—have found their way into collections as far apart as Warsaw and Milan; and there may well be other coincidences which have escaped my notice.

The contents of this volume are even more heterogeneous than is usually the case with miscellaneous collections of papyri acquired by different persons at different times; in particular, attention may be drawn to the number of Latin texts included. If this volume does not contain more faults both of omission and commission than it does at present, this is due to the kindness of a number of scholars whom I have had the good fortune to consult on matters outside my knowledge and whose generous assistance is acknowledged in connexion with the individual texts. I must, however, express my thanks here to Professor F. de Zulueta, who gave me indispensable assistance with the legal texts, and to Mr. E. Lobel, whom I have frequently consulted on difficulties of interpretation and palaeography; but responsibility for any errors is the editor's alone. To Mr. T. C. Skeat I am indebted for several corrections made in proof, and to the Rylands Librarian for giving me every facility and encouragement in preparing this volume.

St. John's College, Oxford.
December, 1937.

C. H. ROBERTS.

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NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The texts contained in this volume are printed as they stand in the originals, except for division of words, addition of capital initials in proper names, expansion of abbreviations and occasional supplements of lacunae. In the case of three texts, **473**, **482**, and **484**, a reconstruction in modern form is given side by side with an exact transcription; accents and punctuation have been inserted in **489** in order to preserve conformity with the London fragment with which it is connected. For the treatment of additions, corrections, and scholia, the reader is referred to the introductions to the separate texts. Square brackets [ ] indicate a lacuna, round brackets ( ) the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets ⟨ ⟩ a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets ⟦ ⟧ a deletion, dashes ` ´ letters written above the line. Dots within brackets represent approximately the number of letters lost or deleted: dots outside brackets indicate mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Letters with dots under them are to be regarded as doubtful. Heavy Arabic numerals refer to the Rylands papyri in the present or previous volumes, ordinary numerals to lines, small Roman numerals to columns. In the critical notes P indicates the papyrus in question.

The principal abbreviations employed are as follows:—

A. P. F. = *Archiv für Papyrusforschung.*

B. K. T. = Berliner Klassikertexte.

Diegeseis = Διηγήσεις di Poemi di Callimaco, by M. Norsa and G. Vitelli.

J. E. A. = *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.*

J. H. S. = *Journal of Hellenic Studies.*

P. Amh. = The Amherst Papyri, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, Vols. I–II.

P. Cairo Zen. = Catalogue des Antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Zenon Papyri, Vols. I–IV, by C. C. Edgar.

P. Bouriant = Les Papyrus Bouriant, by P. Collart.

P. Fay = Fayûm Towns and their Papyri, by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and D. G. Hogarth.

P. Flor. = Papiri Florentini, Vols. I and III by G. Vitelli, Vol. II by D. Comparetti.

P. Gen(ève) = Les Papyrus de Genève, Vol. I, by J. Nicole.

P. Giss. Bibl. = Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Giessener Universitätsbibliothek, Parts I–IV, by H. Kling and others.

P. Grenf. = Greek Papyri, Series I and II, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.

P. Harr. = The Rendel Harris Papyri, by J. Enoch Powell.

P. Hib. = The Hibeh Papyri, Part I, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.

P. Iand. = Papyri Iandanae, by E. Schäfer and others.

P. Klein Form. = P. Stud. Pal. III and VIII, by C. Wessely.

P. Lips. = Griech. Urkunden der Papyrus-Sammlung zu Leipzig, Vol. I, by L. Mitteis.

P. Lit. Lond. = Catalogue of the Literary Papyri in the British Museum, by H. J. M. Milne.

P. Lond. = Greek Papyri in the British Museum, Vols. I–V, by F. G. Kenyon and H. I. Bell.

P. Lond. Christ. = Fragments of an Unknown Gospel and other Early Christian Papyri, by H. Idris Bell and T. C. Skeat.

P. Mich. = Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection, Vols. I–III, by C. C. Edgar, A. E. R. Boak, and J. G. Winter.

P. Oslo. = Papyri Osloenses, Fasc. I–III, by S. Eitrem and P. Amundsen.

P. Oxy. = The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Parts I–XVII, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.

P. Petrie = The Flinders Petrie Papyri, Parts I–III, by J. P. Mahaffy and J. G. Smyly.

P. Rain. Lit. = Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Nationalbibliothek in Wien, Griechische Literarische Papyri, Vol. I, by H. Gerstinger.

P. Ross.-Georg. = Papyri russischer und georgischer Sammlungen, Vols. I–V, by G. Zereteli, O. Krueger, and P. Jernstedt.

P. Ryl. = Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the Rylands Library, Vols. I–II, by A. S. Hunt, J. de M. Johnson, and V. Martin.

P. S. I. = Papiri della Società Italiana, Vols. I–XI, by G. Vitelli and others.

P. Stud. Pal. = Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde, by C. Wessely and others.

P. Tebt. = The Tebtunis Papyri, Parts I–III, by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, J. G. Smyly, and E. J. Goodspeed.

P. Varsov. = Papyri Varsovienses, by G. Manteuffel.

P. Würz. = Mitteilungen aus der Würzburger Papyrussammlung, by U. Wilcken.

RE. = *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischer Altertumswissenschaft*, edited by G. Wissowa and W. Kroll.

SB. Preuss. Akad. = *Sitzungsberichte der Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften* (*Phil.-Hist. Klasse*).

Schubart, *Das Buch* = *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern*, 2nd ed., by W. Schubart.

Schubart, *Pal.* = *Palaeographie: erster Teil, Griechische Palaeographie*, by W. Schubart.

Schubart, *Pap. Graec. Berol.* = Papyri Graeci Berolinenses, collegit W. Schubart.

Zeitsch. Sav. Stift. = *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* (*Römische Abteilung*).

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

458 (p. 3). To the reviews mentioned here should be added the important article by J. Hempel in the *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1937, pp. 115–27 ; on p. 125 he remarks that 'die in 458 zuerst bezeugte übersetzung erweist sich nun aber als die Grundlage aller anderer griechischen Zeugen in Dtn.'. Attention should also be drawn to the article of W. F. Albright in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, LVI (1937), pp. 146–76, in which he argues that the Nash Hebrew papyrus should be dated in the second century B.C. and in the light of this discusses the text of **458**. He, however, attributes **458** to the second half of the second century B.C.; yet the evidence for a date earlier in the century which was given in the original publication receives confirmation from the fact that **539**, found with **458** and almost certainly later than it, shows an early type of text.

464 (p. 24). Mr. T. C. Skeat has pointed out to me that this fragmentary text is more likely to belong to an astrological work than to an apocryphal gospel, and a re-examination of the papyrus entirely supports his view. The $\overline{\iota\eta}$ may be no more than the numeral 18 (it is not uncommon for lines to be placed over numerals); in l. 4 ζωδιακ[can be read and both *κανών* (l. 7) and *ἀνατολικ*. [(l. 11) are more easily explained on this assumption. Unfortunately, it was too late to change the position of **464** in the volume; but it has been indexed with the astronomical and astrological texts.

466 (pp. 28 sqq.). For the following notes on this text I am indebted to Professor Höeg :—

(1) The first of the two hymns Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ is already known and is to be found in the Athos MS., Laura B 32, published in I. Eustratiadis, Εἱρμολόγιον (Chennevières-sur-Marne, 1932), as no. 218. Eustratiadis gives the title: Ἀνατολική. [Ποιῆμα Γεωργίου Ἀνατολικοῦ]. This MS. gives only the εἱρμός or initial stanza, and as this is not given in the modern printed Heirmologion, it is difficult to find the other verses of the hymn.

(2) The reading *τὴν ὑψηλοτέραν* in l. 22—the initial words of the heirmos of B—may be accepted as genuine. The phrase occurs in canon 143 (Eustratiadis, *op. cit.*, ode 8, verse 52) and probably in other hymns too.

(3) p. 32. The reference to St. Theodore Stratelates is an insufficient ground for connecting the papyrus with the church dedicated to him in Arsinoë, since his feast is celebrated by the whole orthodox church on June 8.

(4) p. 35, note to l. 4. *δροσίζειν* often bears the meaning *εἰς δρόσον μεταβάλλειν* in connexion with this ode.

(5) p. 35, note to l. 39. This fragment of another hymn may be compared with a *κάθισμα ἀναστάσιμον* (*Pentekostarion*, p. 145) : *Χριστὸς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγήγερται | ἡ ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων.*

474 (p. 65), gloss on l. 15. Professor de Zulueta suggests that the word preceding *v(er)b(um)* might be a contracted form of *obligatio*: cf. Ulpian, *ad Edictum XXVI* in *Digest XII*, 1, 9, pr. 1.

535 (p. 176). Mr. E. Lobel has pointed out to me that the words *θύεται ἄνδρες* at the beginning of l. 4 of this text are a quotation from the *Dithyrambs* of Pindar (frag. 77/78 in the Teubner ed., 66 in the O.C.T.). In consequence the reading Πιν]δαρικόν (correcting the]δαγικον of the papyrus) may be regarded as certain.

540 (pp. 183 sqq.). It should perhaps have been stated that the notes and corrections relating to the London part of this text have not been reprinted here.

I. THEOLOGICAL TEXTS (GREEK)

457. ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL, xviii.

Acquired in 1920. 8·9 × 5·8 cm. First half of the second century.

Separately published, with facsimile, as *An Unpublished Fragment of the Fourth Gospel in the John Rylands Library* (Manchester University Press, 1935) and republished, with slight alterations, in *The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library,* xx (1936), pp. 45–56; to these the reader is referred for a detailed description of the text and the format, and the evidence for the date of the papyrus. Among reviews and notices may be mentioned those of H. I. Bell (*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology,* xxi (1935), pp. 266–7), P. Benoit (*Revue biblique,* 45 (1936), pp. 269–72), A. Merk (*Biblica,* 17 (1936), pp. 99–101), H. Lietzmann (*Zeitschrift für die NT. Wissenschaft,* 34 (1935), p. 285), and G. Ghedini (*Aegyptus,* xv (1935), pp. 425–6).

The fragment is part of a leaf of a papyrus codex and thus conforms to the almost universal rule that works of Christian literature were written in the codex form (see Kenyon, *Books and Readers,* p. 94 sq., P. L. Hedley in *The Church Quarterly Review,* cxviii (1934), p. 227, and the additional evidence in P. Lond. Christ.). A codex written on this scale would have had to consist of 288 leaves or 576 pages to include all four Gospels and, as all the evidence points to the conclusion that at this early period in its history the codex had not reached such dimensions, we may infer that the codex of which **457** is a part contained only St. John's Gospel.[1] The handwriting is good and careful and, while not calligraphic, is not that of an amateur; the scribe employed the diaeresis, but, as far as we can tell, neither breathings nor punctuation. There is no trace of numeration. A calculation of the average number of letters in each line would lead us to suspect that the name Ἰησοῦς was not, as is regularly the case in other Christian MSS., abbreviated, but such calculations may be misleading, and in the absence of further evidence the question whether or not the scribe employed the usual contractions of the *nomina sacra* must remain open.

The importance of so small a fragment depends on the date to which it can be assigned; without recapitulating the evidence quoted in the original publication, it may be said that a date in the first half of the second century is indicated. Among undated papyri it should be compared with P. Lond. Christ. 1, the unknown Gospel in the British Museum, and with Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses* 19 (c), a roll of *Iliad IX*, attributed to the close of the first century; and among dated texts, with P. Fay. 110 (A.D. 94) and *New Palaeographical Society,* ii. 98 (P. Lond. 2078), *temp.* Domitian. Deissmann, in an article in the *DAZ* for Dec. 3, 1935, would assign it to the reign of Hadrian, while Wilcken, in an article on

[1] There is no internal evidence to support the view advanced by W. Bauer (*Theologische Literaturzeitung,* 61 (1936), 358) that the papyrus *may* have contained only a part of the Gospel or an earlier and different version of the Gospel.

the Bremen Papyri in *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, 12 (1936), p. 89, remarks that, as far as the palaeography is concerned, it might be contemporary with the Apollonius archive (A.D. 117–120). The resemblance to the hand of P. Lond. Christ. 1 is suggestive, since it is possible that the provenance of both texts is Oxyrhynchus—the parcel in which **457** was included was marked 'from the Fayûm or Oxyrhynchus'—and thus both texts may have circulated in the same Christian community; if substantiated, this might be of importance for the literary origins of P. Lond. Christ. 1. About the text presented to us by **457** there is little to be said. In one place (l. 9) there appears to be an omission unrecorded by any other MS., and in another place (l. 4) it supports the Vaticanus against the Sinaiticus and the Alexandrinus; as Bell (*loc. cit.*) remarks: 'In fact this fragment from a codex written within half a century of the composition of the Gospel presents us with the familiar text of our later authorities'.

Recto.

	οι ϊουδαιοι ημε[ιν ουκ εξεστιν αποκτειναι]	xviii. 31
	ουδενα ϊνα ο λο[γος του ιησου πληρωθη ον ει]	32
	πεν σημαινω[ν ποιω θανατω ημελλεν απο]	
	θνησκειν ισ[ηλθεν ουν παλιν εις το πραιτω]	33
5	ριον ο π[ιλατος και εφωνησεν τον ιησουν]	
	και ειπ[εν αυτω συ ει ο βασιλευς των ιου]	34
	[δ]αιω[ν απεκριθη ιησους κτλ.	

. . . . . .

Verso.

	[εγω εις το]υτο γ[ε]γεννημαι	37
	[και ⟨εις τουτο⟩ εληλυθα εις τον κο]σμον ϊνα μαρτυ	
10	[ρησω τη αληθεια πας ο ων] εκ της αληθε[ι]	
	[ας ακουει μου της φωνης] λεγει αυτω	38
	[ο πιλατος τι εστιν αληθεια κ]αι τουτο	
	[ειπων παλιν εξηλθεν προς] τους ιο[υ]	
	[δαιους και λεγει αυτοις εγω ουδ]εμι[αν]	

. . . . . .

1 l. ἡμῖν. 4 l. εἰσῆλθεν. 5 Or πειλατος: so too in 12.

1–2. It is clear that the scribe did not adopt the common practice, found in P. Lond. Christ. 1, **458** and other texts, of indicating either the beginning or the end of a speech by leaving a small blank space; so we cannot reckon with this in calculating the length of the lines or the size of the page. In l. 1 a diaeresis should perhaps be placed over the final iota of ιουδαιοι; the traces are too faint to decide whether this is the case or whether the scribe, as in l. 13, made an iota reaching above the level of the line.

4–5. In placing πάλιν before εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον, our papyrus agrees with the Vaticanus, the Codex Ephraemi, the supplementary text of the Codex Bezae, some other Gk. MSS. and the Armenian and one of the Syriac versions (also with the text of Westcott and Hort); the reverse order is supported among Gk. MSS. by the Sinaiticus and the Alexandrinus, by the Gothic version and another Syriac version, and is adopted by Tischendorf. But it should be noted that the Sa'idic, 33, 259, and a few other MSS. omit πάλιν.

9. If the full text is supplied in this line, we are left with 38 letters to the line in place of the average 29–30; consequently it is fairly certain that our text represents a shorter version. Most probably we should reckon with the omission of the repeated *εἰς τοῦτο*, perhaps a slip, but more probably a genuine variant, although unsupported by any other MS.

10. The letter after *αληθ* seems to have been corrected or erased: possibly we should read *αληθ*[[*θ*]], but probably the scribe's pen slipped while he was making the epsilon.

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458. DEUTERONOMY, xxiii–xxviii.

Acquired in 1917. Frag. (a) 10·7 × 4·5 cm. Second century B.C.

Separately published, with facsimiles, in *Two Biblical Papyri in the John Rylands Library* (Manchester University Press, 1936), pp. 9–46, and reprinted in *The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xx (1936), pp. 219–45. For a detailed description of the MS., and a discussion of its historical and textual importance, the reader is referred to these publications and also to reviews by H. G. Opitz and H. H. Schaeder (*Zeitschrift für die NT. Wissenschaft*, 35 (1936), pp. 115–7), A. Vaccari (*Biblica*, 17 (1936), pp. 501–4), and P. Katz (*Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 61 (1936), 340). These fragments of a papyrus roll of Deuteronomy—the only pre-Christian evidence for the text of any part of the O.T.—were recovered from two pieces of mummy cartonnage which, besides small scraps of Greek and Demotic documents, yielded the Homer, **539**, and some small unidentified literary texts (**496**, **499**, **501–3**); a strip of **539** had actually been wrapped round frag. (b) of **458**. The Deuteronomy fragments, scattered among chapters xxiii–xxviii, were found in both pieces of cartonnage; since the original publication the small fragment (e) has been identified by Prof. T. W. Manson as belonging to xxvii. 15.[1]

The Deuteronomy papyrus is written in a stylized and formal hand, carefully executed and of considerable elegance; the closest parallels to it are P. Tebt. III. 692 and 697, both probably of the middle of the second century B.C. Further evidence for the date is provided by the documentary hand on the verso of **458**, which is characteristic of the late second century, and by the other literary fragments.[2] Punctuation is only found at the end of a verse (e.g. l. 14), where the point is followed by a considerable blank space; elsewhere the scribe leaves a small space at the end of a group of words and a slightly larger one at the end of a sentence or clause. There are no abbreviations in the extant text; but there is reason for thinking (see note to l. 27) that *κύριος* was left unabbreviated.

The only indication of provenance is to be found in the Demotic scraps in which the name Setwoti = *Στοτοῆτις* occurs; the name is very common in the Fayûm and very rare elsewhere. A Fayûmic origin is not in itself at all improbable; we know of several Jewish

[1] In a letter of July 23, 1936; it was independently identified by Katz in the review cited above. This has made it necessary to change the numeration of the fragment and the lines; the fragment in question, now (e), was (f) in the original publication.

[2] The fact that the Homer papyrus, **539**, exhibits an 'eccentric' text makes it improbable that it was written much later than the middle of the century; further, it is likely that the other texts, literary and documentary, yielded by the cartonnage, are contemporary with the verso of **458** rather than with the recto.

settlements in the Fayûm in the Ptolemaic period, and the fact that the scraps of Greek and Demotic documents found with **458** contain no Jewish names might argue for a common provenance from a mixed community of the kind common in the Fayûm.[1]

The most notable feature of the text of the papyrus is its divergence from the text of the Vaticanus (B)[2]; in passages where the reading is disputed there are three agreements with B and fifteen disagreements. With the Washington MS. (Θ), on the other hand, there are eleven agreements, and with the Alexandrinus (A) ten, though, as Vaccari (*loc. cit.*) points out, **458** as a rule only supports A, when the latter gives what is the text of the majority of MSS.; at the same time he points out that, in its rarer readings, it more often agrees with *g* and *n*, two minuscule MSS. representing the Lucianic recension. **458** presents us with four new readings, one of which—*επελθης* in l. 4—deserves consideration on its merits, while another—*καθιει* in l. 19—is closer to the Hebrew than to the rest of the Greek tradition. The general conclusion that the evidence best warrants is, as pointed out by Opitz and Schaeder (*loc. cit.*), that **458** represents an independent text, closer to the Hebrew original, which has greatly influenced the formation of the A text.

(a) 10·7 × 4·5 cm.

	. . . . .	
	σου [και συλλεξεις εν ταις χερσιν στα]	xxiii. 24 (26)
	χυς και δρεπα̣[νον ου μη επιβαλης επι]	
	τον αμη̣[τον του πλησιον σου εαν]	(25)
	δ̣ε επελθης ε[ις τον αμπελωνα του]	
5	[πλ]ησιον σο̣υ̣ φα[γη σταφυλην οσον]	
	[ψυ]χ̣η σου π̣[λ]η̣σ[θειη εις δε αγγος]	
	[ο]υκ ενβα̣[λεις εαν δε τις λαβη γυ]	xxiv. 1
	[ναι]κα και συνο[ικηση αυτη και εσται]	
	[εα]̣ν μη ευρη χ̣[αριν εναντιον αυτου]	
10	[οτι] ε̣υ̣ρεν εν α̣[υτη ασχημον πραγμα]	
	[και] γραψει αυ̣[τη βιβλιον αποστα]	
	[σι]ο̣υ [και δωσει εις τας χειρας αυτης]	
	[κ]αι εξαποσ[τελει αυτην εκ της οικιας]	
	αυτου• και [απελθουσα γενηται αν]	2
15	[δρι ετε]ρ̣ωι [και μισηση αυτην ο α]	3
	[νηρ ο εσχ]α̣τ̣ο̣[ς κτλ.]	
	. . . . .	

(b) 8 × 8·4 cm.

	καιον και καταγνωσι̣[ν του ασεβους]	xxv. 1
	[κ]α̣ι εσται εαν α̣ξ̣ι̣[ος η πληγων ο ασε]	2
	[βη]ς και καθιει αυτον ε̣ν̣[αντιον]	

[1] For a more detailed discussion, see *Two Biblical Papyri*, p. 28 sq.

[2] But, as J. A. Montgomery (*Journal of Biblical Literature*, lv (1936), p. 310) points out, the disagreements of the papyrus are often with B's unique, or almost unique, errors, i.e. the divergence from the text of B's family is slighter than statistics might suggest.

[αυτ]ου και μαστιγωσιν [αυτον εναντι]
[ον αυ]των κατα την ασεβ[ειαν αυτου]
[αριθμω]ι τεσσαρακοντα [μαστιγωσου] 3
[σιν αυτο]ν ου προσθησου[σιν εαν δε]
[προσθω]σιν μαστιγω[σαι αυτον κτλ.]
. . . . . .

(c) 4·9 × 2·3 cm.

[τη χηρα και] φαγον[ται εν ταις πο] xxvi. 12
[λεσιν σου] και ε[μπλησθησονται κτλ.]
. . . . . .

(d) 4 × 5·4 cm.

. . . . . .
[της φων]ης αυτο[υ] κα[ι κυριος ειλατο] 17, 18
[σε σημερ]ον γενεσθαι αυτ[ω λαον περι]
[ουσιον κ]αθαπερ ειπεν φυλα[σσειν πα]
[σας τας εν]τολας αυτου κα[ι ειναι σε] 19
[υπεραν]ω παντων [τ]ων εθνω[ν ως]
[εποιησε]ν σε ονομαστον κ[αι καυχημα]
. . . . . .

(e) 1·1 × 2·1 cm.

. . . . . .
[επικαταρατος] ανθ[ρωπος οστις ποιη] xxvii. 15
[σει γλυπτον κ]αι χωνε[υτον βδελυγμα]
. . . . . .

(f) 5·7 × 1·8 cm.

[τα προβατα σου δ]εδομε[να τοις εχθροις] xxviii. 31
[σου και ουκ εστ]αι σοι ο β[οηθων οι υιοι] 32
[και αι θυγατε]ρες δεδ[ομεναι εθνει]
[ετερωι και οι οφ]θαλμοι [σου οψονται]
[σφακελιζοντες εις] αυτα κα[ι ουκ ισχυ]
[σει η χειρ σου τα εκφορ]ια τη[ς γης σου και] 33
[παντας τους πονους σο]υ φ[αγεται εθνος]
[ο ουκ επιστασαι κ]αι εσ[η αδικουμενος κτλ.]
. . . . . .

Unplaced fragments.

(g) 1·2 × 1·4 cm.

. . .
] . [.] . [
] . ευρ[
. . .

(h) 1·5 × 1·3 cm.

. . .
45]ο̣ν̣[
]ο̣ . ο̣ν̣ . [
] . . [
. . .

17 i.e. δι|καιον.

1. This line as it stands is rather longer than the rest: that the *και* was omitted (with *m* and some of the versions) is unlikely, as it is retained in the parallel passage l. 19. One of the cursives, *i**, reads *τῇ χειρί* and this may have been the reading of our text. It is to be noted that in placing *στάχυς* after *ἐν ταῖς χερσίν* the papyrus agrees with all the uncials against the Ethiopic and Bohairic versions and Eusebius. But the length of the line makes it very probable that it agrees with *k* and *l* in omitting *σου* after *χερσίν*.

2. This line appears to project into the margin more than the others, whereas 3 is inset.

3. In reading *επι τον αμητον* the papyrus agrees with all MSS. except B, which has *ἐπ' ἀμητόν*.

4. The reading *επελθης*, peculiar to the papyrus, is of some interest, since *ἐπέρχομαι* is the *terminus technicus* in the papyri for *trespassing*, *making an illegal entrance*, and as such occurs frequently in documents of the Ptolemaic period: whereas *εἰσέρχομαι* (*εἰσέλθῃς* is the reading of all MSS. here) in legal language denotes *to proceed against* or *make claims against in a court of law*. Thus the reading of our text is interesting evidence of the influence of the ordinary terminology of the period. Vaccari (*loc. cit.*) would prefer the vulgate reading on the ground that *ἐπέρχομαι* is not found elsewhere in the LXX in this sense.

6. In reading *ψυχη* our text is supported only by A^a and some cursives, *f l n y*. Subsequently all MSS. (with the exception of *f*, which reads *ἐμπλησθῇ*) give *ἐμπλησθῆναι*: *πλησθῆναι* may have been the reading of the papyrus, but, with the preceding nominative, *πλησθείη* is more likely. On this passage, Driver writes that the Hebrew is nearer to the text of B than to that of the papyrus, but that the Hebrew infinitive ('thou shalt eat grapes according to thy soul thy being filled') is so awkward that it is generally thought to be a gloss. He suggests that our text may be an attempt to simplify it by substituting a finite verb, much as the Syriac ('until thy soul (is) being satisfied') tries to do.

7. In reading *ενβα*[*λεις*, the papyrus agrees with B*gn* (*ἐμβαλεῖς*) and other MSS. against A^aF^* and a few cursives.

10. *ενρεν*: so B and other MSS. (including Θ) against the *εὗρηκεν* of A^aFMN and a number of cursives.

11. Θ and M, together with some cursives, read *γράψῃ* here.

14. It seems probable that the scribe only punctuated at the end of a verse, as here after *αυτου*; the space between it and the following *και* is larger than is usual.

19. Here the papyrus has a somewhat remarkable agreement with Θ in its reading *ἀσεβής*, supported also by a number of minuscules, including *g* and *n*: all other uncials read *ἀσεβῶν*.

20. Between the *α* and *σ* of *μαστιγωσιν* a dot is visible: apparently the scribe wrote *ματ*, then corrected the *τ* to a *σ*, erasing the left horizontal stroke of the *τ*, and the apparent dot is the remnant of the hook of the original *τ*.

20 sqq. The text of this and of the following lines, now in agreement with AFMNΘ, and now providing new readings of its own, differs so markedly from that of B that before discussing the readings in detail it may be as well to give the text, considerably shorter than ours, supplied by B. Continuing from *ὁ ἀσεβῶν*, B reads: *καθιεῖς αὐτὸν ἐναντίον αὐτῶν.* [3]*καὶ ἀριθμῷ τεσσεράκοντα μαστιγώσουσιν αὐτόν, οὐ προσθήσουσιν· ἐὰν δὲ προσθῇς μαστιγῶσαι* κτλ.

(*a*) In reading *και* before *καθιει*(*ς*) the papyrus agrees with AFMN and many cursives against BΘ*gn*.

(*b*) *καθιει* is peculiar to the papyrus. The only variants noted to *καθιεῖς* are the *καθίσης* of *l* and Cyril and the *constituent* (or *-unt*) of the Armenian and Ethiopic versions.

(*c*) Between the *καθιεῖς αὐτὸν* and the *ἐναντίον αὐτῶν* of B AFMNΘ and the versions insert *ἔναντι τῶν κριτῶν καὶ μαστιγώσουσιν αὐτόν*. Neither of these texts can have been quite that of the papyrus, but

in sense it is closer to the reading of AFMNΘ. After *εν[αντιον* it seems best to supply *αυτ]ον* (or *εαυτ]ον*), as suggested by Driver; it is, however, short and *εν[αντιον | του λα]ον* would fill the space a little better, but though this phrase is found in Deut. x. 11 the sense is different and there is no support for its presence here: whereas *αυτου* = *αὐτοῦ* would correspond to the *τῶν κριτῶν* of AFMNΘ. For the sense of the papyrus version must be 'for he (*sc.* the judge) shall cast him (the offender) down in his (the judge's) presence'. Both the Hebrew and the Syriac Peshitta provide an interesting parallel to this version (for what follows I am indebted to Driver): in this and the following lines the Peshitta has 'if the guilty be guilty of chastisement, the judge shall cast him down and they shall scourge him according to the due of his folly'. Similarly the text implied by the Hebrew is: *ἐὰν ἄξιος ᾖ πληγῶν ὁ ἀσεβὴς καὶ καθιεῖ* (or rather *καθήσει*) *αὐτὸν ὁ κριτὴς καὶ μαστιγώσει αὐτὸν ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν* (*αὐτοῦ*) *ἀριθμῷ τεσσεράκοντα κτλ.* Thus the papyrus, unlike the Hebrew, leaves the subject of *καθιει* unexpressed, but agrees with both Hebrew and Peshitta in placing the verb in the 3rd, not in the 2nd, person singular, while both have a word to correspond to *εν[αντιον αυτ]ον*. Alternatively, it would be possible to read *και καθιει⟨ς⟩ αυτον εν[αντι του | κριτ]ον*: but though this would be a little closer to AFMNΘ, it is not safe to assume gratuitous error in the MS.

(*d*) *μαστιγωσιν* must be a scribal error for *μαστιγώ⟨σου⟩σιν*, as it is clear from the other verbs that a future was intended here.

(*e*) After *μαστιγω⟨σου⟩σιν* (l. 20) the papyrus agrees with AFMNΘ, the versions and most of the cursives, in reading *εναντιον αυτων κατα την ασεβειαν αυτου*; the whole clause is unrepresented in B. It may be noted that the papyrus may well have read *[εναντι αυ]των*—it would suit the space rather better—and that the large space left after *αυ]των* suggests that *κατα την ασεβ[ειαν αυτου]* belongs to the following rather than to the preceding sentence.

(*f*) In l. 22 the papyrus certainly omitted the *και* before *αριθμωι*, found only in B, where it was probably inserted after the loss of *κατὰ τὴν ἀσήβειαν αὐτοῦ*.

24. Here again the papyrus agrees with AFMNΘ and other authorities in reading *προσθωσιν* against B's *προσθῇς*: consequently I have followed these MSS. in supplying *αυτον* in this line (omitted only by B*g*).

It may be noted that the Syriac Peshitta also has 'when they add' and the Hebrew 'he shall not add': the singular verb in the Hebrew is probably due to Massoretic vocalization, as in early unvocalized texts singular and plural forms of the verb were hardly distinguished (Driver).

26. In the supplement I have followed AFMNΘ*gn* and their allies rather than B's *εὐφρανθήσονται*.

27. It is probable that *κυριος* was written in full, i.e. that the scribe did not employ the theological contractions almost universal in later MSS. If he had written *κ̄ς̄* there would be only 24 letters in the line, whereas the average number of letters in a line is 27. Similar calculations in the case of **457** (see *An Unpublished Fragment of the Fourth Gospel*, p. 18) led to the conclusion that there also *nomina sacra* were written in full. Unfortunately in both cases conclusive proof is lacking; but it looks as though the practice, whatever its origin, only became general in the course of the second century A.D.

28. The omission of *σε* after *γενέσθαι* is of some interest, for while all uncials agree in reading it, it is not in the Hebrew text, which has simply 'to be' (Driver), and is also absent from the Armenian version and the cursives *agknx** and the texts of Philo and Clement. It is at least evidence that such a reading, which might have been thought to be of comparatively late origin in Greek MSS., is, even if wrong, of considerable antiquity.

29. *σοι* omitted after *ειπεν*: so B*gn*, Sa'idic, Ethiopic.

30. The fact that elsewhere the papyrus consistently follows AFMNΘ*gn* and other MSS. in preferring the longer version makes it very likely that *πασας* (omitted by B) was inserted before *τας εντολας*; it also fills the space better.

35. A new column begins with this fragment. In this column the lines are slightly longer than in preceding columns; the average number of letters to a line is 29.

36. *ο βοηθων*: omitted only by B. The length of the line makes it highly probable that the papyrus omitted *σου* after *υιοι* as it certainly did after *θυγατερες* in l. 37. For this latter omission it has the support of the second corrector of F; for the former there is no other authority. We should expect both to be written or both to be omitted; probably this may be claimed as a new, if unimportant, variant for the papyrus. The length of the line suggests that a *σου* may have been omitted in l. 40 also.

38. Reasons of space as well as the general affinity of the MS. make it fairly probable that the papyrus

read *οψονται* with FGMNΘ*gn* and most of the cursives rather than *βλέψονται* with B al.: it is in any case preferable to the *ἔσονται*—equally suitable as far as the space goes—of A.

39. As usual, the papyrus agrees with all other MSS. against B and reads *και* before *ουκ ισχυσει*.

44. If some part of *εὑρίσκω* is to be recognized here, this fragment cannot stand in close relation to any of the others, as, except in xxiv. 1, the text of which is preserved in (*a*), the word is not found in or near the passages represented here. It does, however, occur in xxii frequently and in xxviii. 2.

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459. ISAIAH, xxi, xxii.

Acquired in 1917. 22·7 × 3·2 cm. Fifth to sixth century. PLATE 4.

This strip, from a leaf of a magnificently written vellum codex, is fortunately complete in height, so that some estimate can be formed of the character of the original book. The lower margin is 4 cm., the upper (which may have been damaged) 2·8 cm.; the average number of letters in a line is 27, so that the measurements of the text (and those of the page would have been in proportion) were 16×13 cm. Each page contained only one column of text. The position of the fragment in the leaf is decided by the titles in l. 28 and l. 50, as it is fairly obvious that the scribe began a new line with the title, and he has, in fact, filled up what remains with scroll-work.

Palaeographically the MS. is of some interest, and will stand comparison with some of the best hands of the period. It bears a general resemblance to the Washington MS. of the Psalms (i.e. the hand responsible for the bulk of that MS.), although the scribe of **459** had a distinctly lighter touch, and it can hardly be later than the Vienna Dioscorides (E. M. Thompson, *Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography*, p. 210) of the first half of the sixth century. Another similar hand of the period, which also avoids the heavy style of some MSS., is the Vatican Cassius Dio (plate in Cavalieri-Lietzmann, *Spec. Cod. Graec.* 2). The distinctive features of the hand (not to be found in either the Washington MS. or the Cassius Dio) are the unusually angular ϵ and the curved ω. I should assign the MS. to the fifth, or perhaps to the sixth century. Punctuation and other marks appear to be in the first hand; the title in l. 50 (though not that in l. 28) is distinctly smaller than the rest of the text, but is in the same hand. A rough breathing is placed over η, but not over other vowels.

Textually the MS. is too small to be of much use, but it may be observed that in the case of two disputed readings of some importance (ll. 16 and 21) it sides with the Codex Sinaiticus (ℵ) and the Codex Alexandrinus (A) against the Codex Vaticanus (B), as it does on two, and possibly on four, other occasions. In ll. 37 and 49, however, it supports B against the other MSS., as it does B and ℵ in ll. 43 and 51. It does not follow A where it is unsupported by ℵ, and its closest affinity is with the latter MS. It should be noted that in l. 33 it apparently supports the Codex Rescriptus Cryptoferratensis (Γ) against the rest of the tradition. Collation is with the text of Swete (Cambridge, 1894).

Recto.

[και] ωδινες [ελαβον με ως την τικτου] xxi. 3
[σαν]· ηδικ[ησα το μη ακουσαι]
[εσπ]ουδασα [του μη βλεπειν]
[ ] ἡ καρδια [μου πλαναται ανομια με] 4
[βαπ]τιζει· ἡ [ψυχη μου εφεστηκεν]
[εις] φοβον· [ετοιμασον την τρα] 5
[πεζα]ν· φαγετ[ε πιετε ανασταντες]
[οι αρ]χοντες [ετοιμασατε θυρεους]
[διο]τι ουτω[ς ειπεν προς με κ(υριο)ς] 6
[βα]δισας σεα̣[υτω στησον σκοπον]
[και] ο εαν ϊδῃ[ς αναγγειλον και ειδον] 7
[αν]αβατας ϊ[ππεις δυο αναβατην]
[ονο]υ και αν[αβατην καμηλου]
[ακ]ρ̣οασαι ακ[ροασιν πολλην και] 8
[κα]λ̣εσον ου[ρειαν εις την σκοπιαν]
[κ(υριο)υ] και ειπε[ν εστην δια παντος]
[ημ]ερας· και ε̣[πι της παρεμβολης]
[εγ]ω εστην ο[λην την νυκτα και] 9
[ιδο]υ αυτος [ερχεται αναβατης]
[συ]νωριδος· [και αποκριθεις ειπεν]
[πε]πτωκεν [Βαβυλων και παντα]
[τα] αγαλματα̣ [αυτης και τα χειροποι]
[ητ]α αυτης [συνετριβη εις την]
[γη]ν : [ακουσατε οι κατα] 10
[λελ]ιμμενο̣[ι και οι οδυνωμενοι]
[ακ]ο̣υσατε α̣ [ηκουσα παρα κ(υριο)υ σαβαωθ]

Verso.

[ο θ(εο)ς του Ι(σρα)ηλ ανηγ]γειλεν η[μιν]
[το οραμα της Ιδου]μαιας̄ :: ε—[———] 11
[προς εμε καλει παρα] τ̣ου Σηειρ [φυ]
[λασσετε επαλξει]ς· φυλασ[σω το] 12
[πρωι και την νυκ]τ̣α· εαν ζ[ητης]
[ζητει και παρ εμοι οικ]ει· εν τω [δρυμω] 13
[εσπερας κοιμηθησεσθ]αι εν τη [οδω]
[Δαιδαν εις συναντ]ησιν διψ[ωντι] 14
[υδωρ φερετε οι ενοι]κ̣ουντες [εν χω]
[ρα Θαιμαν αρτοις σ]υναντα[τε τοις]
[φευγουσιν δια τ]ο πληθος [των πε] 15
[φονευμενων και δια τ]ο πληθος [των]
[πλανωμενων και δι]α το πληθ[ος της]
[μαχαιρας και δια το π]ληθος τω[ν το]

[ξευματων των δι]ατεταμε[νων]
[και δια το πληθος των] πεπτωκ[οτων]
[εν τω πολεμω] διοτι ου[τως] 16
[ειπεν μοι κ(υριο)ς ετι ενι]αυτος ως [ενι]
[αυτος μισθωτου εκ]λ̣ιψει ἡ δ[οξα]
[των υιων Κηδαρ και] το καταλ[οιπον] 17
[των τοξευματων τ]ων ἰσχυρ[ων]
[υιων Κηδαρ εσ]τ̣αι ολιγον [οτι]
[κ(υριο)ς ο θ(εο)ς Ι(σρα)ηλ ελαλη]σεν : ξξ——
[το ρημα της φαραγ]γος Σιων :· ⟶ xxii. 1
[τι εγενετο σοι οτι] νυν ανεβ[ητε]
[παντες εις δωματα] ματαια· [ ]

3. The relative shortness of this line and the gap at the beginning of l. 4 may be due to the fact that with *η καρδια* a new verse begins; when the end of the verse coincides with a definite break in the sense the scribe leaves a gap of considerable length (in l. 24 of nearly 3 cm.). Possibly **459** added *αυτο*; but there is no other support for this.

4. The reading given in the text is that of the seventh-century correctors $^{c.a,\ c.b.}$ of ℵ, which alone suits the available space; both that of ℵ* *ἀνομία με καὶ ἡ ἁμαρτία με* and that of B *καὶ ἡ ἀνομία με* are too long.

7. *φαγετ[ε πιετε]* as BΓ: tr. ℵAQ.

9. *διότι* ℵΓ: *ὅτι* B. The former would exactly fill the gap at the beginning of the line, unless we assume that this was left blank for the new verse; there is, however, no break in the sense and probably the scribe only punctuates at the end of a sentence.

11. *ο*: *ον* ℵ*B*$^{(vid.)}$ Γ 93. *ἐάν* AQℵ $^{c.a,\ c.b.}$: *ἄν* B.

12. Most probably the papyrus omitted the *καί* after *δύο* with ℵAQΓ.

16. *κυρίου καὶ εἶπεν* ℵAQΓ: *κύριος εἶπεν* B.

18. *εγω* om. AQ.

21. *πέπτωκεν* ℵAQΓ: *πέπτωκεν πέπτωκεν* B. It is practically certain that the papyrus agrees with ℵAQΓ here.

23. Possibly *συνετρίβησαν* with ℵAQΓ, which would suit the space better.

30. Though the end of the verse is marked by a stop, there is no gap; the break in the sense, however, between the verses is slight (contrast l. 43).

33. *κοιμηθήσεσθαι* Γ: *κοιμηθήση* rell.

34. *ὕδωρ διψῶντι* A.

37. In this, a disputed reading of some importance, there can be little doubt that **459** agrees with B and (on the evidence of Q) Origen and the hexaplaric text in reading *πεφονευμενων* instead of the *φευγόντων* of ℵAQΓ (the former is printed by Swete, the latter by Rahlfs): the latter would leave the next line impossibly short.

43. *διότι* Bℵ: *ὅτι* AQ*Γ.

45. l. *ἐκλείψει*.

46. *λοιπόν* ℵ.

49. The words are given in this order by B: *ἐλάλησεν ὁ* $\overline{θς}$ $\overline{Ιηλ}$ ℵAQΓ.

51. *ὅτι νῦν* Bℵ: *νῦν ὅτι* AQΓ.

460. FRAGMENT OF A TESTIMONY BOOK.

Acquired in 1917. 11·4 × 14·1 cm. Fourth century.

Published with **458** in *Two Biblical Papyri*; for reviews, &c., see the references given on p. 3. Two other fragments of the same bifolium (reprinted here as ll. 1–9, 28–37, 52–61, and

76-84) were published as P. Oslo 11[1]; P. Oslo 11, frag. i, forms the upper part of folio 1, P. Oslo 11, frag. ii, the upper part of folio 2 of **460.** The text consists of passages from different parts of the Septuagint, the majority from Isaiah; the connexion between them appears to be that they are all capable of bearing a Messianic interpretation and so might serve for purposes of propaganda. There is little doubt that the codex to which these leaves belong was a book of Testimonies, i.e. passages from the O.T. which can witness to the truth of the N.T. Two such works are extant, the *Testimonia* of St. Cyprian and the *Testimonia adversus Judaeos* attributed to St. Gregory of Nyssa; but the selection of passages quoted in **460** proves that it is independent of both these works.

A complete page of the codex probably measured some 28×11 cm. and contained 30 lines to the column. The hand is crude and irregular, though clear, and resembles P. Oxy. 209, a schoolboy's copy of Romans i. 1–7, which can be dated in the early fourth century.

Our text may be assigned to the same period, and as the Oslo fragments were purchased in the Fayûm, the Fayûm is the most likely place of origin. The usual theological contractions occur, and in place of final *ν* a short stroke is commonly added above the preceding vowel. Stops have been added by the first hand, with the exception of that in l. 12, which, with the mark against l. 15, is in black ink. The rest of the MS. is written in a reddish-brown ink which is better preserved in the Oslo fragments than in the Rylands text. The end of a quotation is marked by a stop, followed in l. 12 by a short horizontal line; there is no trace of subject headings.

It is not to be expected that the text of such a MS. would be of any importance for textual criticism; neither its omissions (as in l. 17 and l. 24) or additions (as in l. 49) are of any significance, although a tendency to disagree with Vaticanus (B) may be noticed, e.g. 15, 45, 46, 95. The textual notes attached to P. Oslo 11 have not been repeated: those relating to the Rylands fragment will be found after the text. The passages preserved in the Oslo fragments are underlined in the transcription.

Folio i, recto.

	τεθραυσμενο̣[ν ου]	Isa. xlii. 3	ργα αυτω[ν και τον]	
	συντριψει και λ[ινο(ν)]		λογισμο[ν αυτων]	
	καπνιζομε̣ν[ον]		☧ επισταμ[αι]	
	ου σβεσει· αλλ[α εις]		ερχομαι σ̣υ̣ν̣[αγαγειν]	
	αληθειαν εξ̣[οισει]		πασας τας γλω[σσας]	
	κρισιν ανα[λαμ]	4	κ(αι) η̣ξ̣ουσιν και οψ[ον]	
	ψει και ου θρ[αυσθη]		ται την δοξα[ν]	
	σεται ως α[ν θη]		μου και καλει[ψω]	19
	επι της [γης κρισιν]		επ αυτων σημει[ον]	
	[και επι τω ονοματι]		και αποστελω [εξ]	
	[αυτου] ε̣θ̣[νη ελπι]		αυτων σ̣ε̣σ̣[ωσμενους]	
	ουσιν·—κα[γω τα ε]	Isa. lxvi. 18	εις Θαρσε[ις και . . .]	
			και Μοσ̣οχ [και εις Θο]	

[1] The Oslo fragments were first published with the title *Septuaginta Fragmente* by G. Rudberg in *Videnskapsselskapets Forhandlinger*, 1923 (2).

θελ και[ι εις την]
[Ε]λλα[δα]
. . . . .

Folio i, verso.

[οψο]νται και οι — Isa. lii. 15
[ου]κ ακηκοασιν συ(ν)
[η]σουσιν· κ(υρι)ε τις — Isa. liii. 1
[επ]ιστευσεν τη ακο
[η] ημων και ο βρα
[χι]ων κ(υριο)υ τινι
[απε]καλυφθη
[ανη]γγειλαμε(ν) — 2
[εναντιο]ν αυτου
[ως παιδιον ως ρι]
[ζα εν γη δι]ψωση
[ουκ εσ]τιν ειδος
[αυτω ο]υδε δοξα
[και ειδο]μεν αυτο(ν)
[και ουκ] ειχεν ειδος
[ουδ]ε καλλος· αλλα — 3
[το] ειδος αυτου ατι
[μ]ον και εκλειπο(ν)
[π]αρα παντας του
[νιου]ς των αν(θρωπ)ων
[αν(θρωπ)ος] εν πληγη
[ων και] εν πονω
[κ(αι) ειδ]ως φερειν
[μαλακι]αν ο[τι]
. . . . .

Folio ii, recto.

[μει]ζων εγενετο — Gen. xxvi. 13
[ως ο]υ με[γα]ς εγε
[νετο σ]φοδρα εγε — 14
[νετο δε] αυτω
[κτηνη π]ροβατω(ν)
[και κτην]η βοω(ν)
[και γεωργ]ια πολλα
[ ]· λα
[ ]ατος
[ ] . ε[.]τι·
— —
[Παραλειπο]μενω(ν)
— —
[την σοφια]ν και τη(ν) — 2 Chron. i. 12
[συνεσιν δι]δωμι σοι
[και πλουτον] και
[χρημα]τα και δο
[ξαν δ]ωσω σοι
— — —
[Δευτε]ρονομιον
— —
[αποστε]λει κ(υριο)ς επι σε — Deut. xxviii. 8
[την ευ]λογιαν εν τοις
[ταμειοι]ς σου εν πασι

Folio ii, verso.

αυτον δια τας — Isa. liii. 6
αμαρτιας ημω(ν)
δια το κεκα[κωσ] — 7
θαι ουκ ανοιγ[ει]
το στομα α[υτου]
ως βροβα[τον]
επι σφαγη[ν ηχθη]
και ως αμ[νος]
εναντι[ον του]

[ου αν επι]βα[λ]ης τη(ν) [ο θ(εο)ς σου εις α]γαθα
[χειρα σου επι] ṭης γης 100 [εν τοις εκγο]νοις ṭῃ[ς]
[και πληθυ]νει σε κ(υριο)ς 11 . . . . .

15. The papyrus agrees with ℵ against B, etc., in adding *επισταμαι* after *αυτων*. The sign placed in the margin against this line is probably a form of the common ⸿ = *ὡραῖον*; that it calls attention to the uncertain reading is not likely.

17. All MSS. read *πάντα τὰ ἔθνη καί* before *τὰς γλωσσας*: ℵ adds *αυτων*.

20. Read *κα⟨τα⟩λείψω*.

22. No other authority is cited for *αποστελω* in place of *ἐξαποστελῶ*.

24. After *Θαρσεὶς* the MSS. read *καὶ Φοὺδ καὶ Λοὺδ*; one of the two has clearly been omitted in the papyrus.

25. Read *Θοβὲλ*.

45. om. *και* AQ. *εκλειπο(ν)*: so A and a later hand of Q; B reads *ἐκλιπὸν*.

46. Probably read *τοὺ⟨ς⟩*; it is just possible that the scribe wrote the *s* in the next line, cf. *ε|ργα* in l. 12. *παντας του⟨ς⟩ [υιου]ṣ των αν(θρωπ)ων* as ℵQ^{mg}: om. *παντας* BΓ: *παντας ανθρωπους* AQ*.

49. *και εν πονω*. This addition, not found in any other MS., was probably transferred by the writer from v. 4: *ἐλογισάμεθα αὐτὸν εἶναι ἐν πόνῳ καὶ ἐν πληγῇ*.

83 sq. It is fairly clear that the writer did not continue the passage from Genesis which runs *ἐζήλωσαν δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ Φυλιστιείμ*; these three lines probably contained a quotation from another book, the title of which—a short one, as it has left no traces—was written in the space between 82 and 83.

93. *αποστελει*: so the versions and some of the cursives: the uncials read *αποστείλαι*. For the significance of this reading, see P. Katz, *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 61 (1936), 341.

95. *εν πασι(ν)*: so AFMΘ and the versions; *ἐπὶ πάντα* B. *καὶ* before *ἐν πᾶσιν* is also omitted by the Bohairic and a few cursives.

461. PSALMS iii and lxii.

Acquired in 1917. Fragment (c) 8·5 × 7·4 cm. Sixth century.

Four fragments of a tall sheet of rather rough parchment containing verses from the third Psalm, one of which is misplaced, and the opening of the sixty-second Psalm. When complete the sheet must have been more than 30 cm. in height, and as the length of the line is only 7 cm., it is probable that there was originally a second column of which no traces have survived, and in which the scribe continued the sixty-second Psalm; whatever the purpose of the text, it is hardly likely that he would break off in the middle of a sentence in l. 28. Probably this sheet of parchment was used as a protective amulet; the verses of the Psalms chosen are obviously suitable for that purpose, although they have not hitherto occurred among the Christian amulets on papyri (see the list in Mlle Préaux's article 'Une Amulette Chrétienne', *Chronique d'Égypte*, 20 (1935), p. 365).[1] Further, the bottom of fragment (d), just below the end of the column, has been stitched up with thread, some of which still remains; this suggests that when complete the sheet was rolled up and the ends stitched together, thus being rendered more portable. It might indicate that at some

[1] To this list should probably be added P. Giss. Bibl. 34, a sheet of parchment containing verses from Psalms lxxiii (lxxiv) and cxi (cxii), which the editor attributes to the fourth century. It may, however, be a collection of miscellaneous verses arranged alphabetically (the verse from Ps. cxi precedes that from lxxiii).

later period the strip was used as a binding sheet. The hand is a good sloping uncial, regular and neat, and may belong to the sixth century; the punctuation at the end of the verse is in the same hand. On the verso (the hair-side) are remains of writing in a large sprawling hand of later date; unfortunately in the largest fragment, (c), very little is decipherable. On (a) can be read: (l. 2) ποιεȩ (? ποιης) αυτα̣, (l. 3)] . ραχη ο̣ι̣π̣ε̣ [, (l. 4)] π̣ο̣λλους α̣δ̣[; on (b), (l. 7)]α̣ν . οτι επεθ̣[, (l. 8)] . τυ αυτοις . [, (l. 9)] πατηρ φ̣[, (l. 10)]μου σ̣ε̣ν̣ [; on (c), (l. 13) ε̣ξ̣υχηθη χ̣α̣ρ̣ι̣ . [, (l. 14) ε̣ν̣ χιλεσιν . . υ̣[; on (d), (l. 22)] . . α̣π̣ωσυμ[, (l. 23)]ς · απωτονε, (l. 24)] δ̣ωρον σ̣ου. Apart from ll. 13–14, which may be read as ε̣ξ̣υχηθη (l. εξ̣εχυθη) ⟨η⟩ χ̣α̣ρ̣ι̣[ς] ε̣ν̣ χιλεσιν (l. χειλεσιν) σ̣ο̣υ = Psalm xliv. 3, I have been unable to identify any of these passages. A line drawn below l. 14 indicates that the scribe did not proceed with Psalm xliv. L. 9 at any rate does not appear to come from any passage in the Psalms.

The text is collated with Swete, *The Old Testament in Greek*, and Rahlfs, *Septuaginta* (Stuttgart, 1935). The testimony of such a text cannot be of much value; for what it is worth it may be noted that it twice supports Alexandrinus against Vaticanus. The provenance of the text is unknown.

(a)

. . . . . .
σ̣υ μου ει [δοξα μου] Ps. iii. 4
και υψω[[τ]]ν τ̣[ην κεφα]
λην μου· φ̣[ωνη] 5
μου προς κ(υριο)ν ε̣κ̣[εκρα]
ξα και εισοικου̣[σεν]
μ̣ε ε̣ξ̣ ορους α̣γ̣[ιου]
[α]υ̣τ̣ο̣[υ
. . . . . .

(b)

. . . . . .
[απ]ο̣ [μ]υ̣ρια̣[δων λαου] iii. 7
των κυκλ̣[ω συν]
επειτιθεμεν[ων μοι]
α̣ναστα κ(υρι)ε σω[σον με] 8
ο [θ(εο)]ς μου· ο̣τ̣ι̣ [συ επα]
[τα]ξ̣ας παντα̣ς̣ [τους]
[εχθρα]̣ι̣νον̣τ̣[ας μοι
. . . . . .

(c)

. . . . . .
[σο]υ η ευ̣λ̣ογια σ̣ο̣υ̣ iii. 9
εγω δε εκ̣ο̣[ι] 6

μηθην και υπνωσα
εξυγερθη οτι κ(υριο)ς αν
τιλημψετο μου·
- - - - - -
ο θ(εο)ς ο θ(εο)ς μου προς σε ο[ρ] lxii. 2
[θ]ριζω· εδιψισεν
σε η ψυχη μου
πωσ[απλως σοι η σαρξ]
. . . . . .

(d)

. . . . . .
[σο]ν το ελ[εος σου] lxii. 4
υπερ ζωας τα χει
λη μου επενεσω
σιν σε· ουτος ευ 5
λογησω σαι εν τη

2. ὑψων, i.e. ὕψων P. 4. $\overline{κν}$ P; so in 11 and 18. 5. l. εἰσήκουσεν. 9. l. συνεπιτιθεμένων. 11. κ written over first α of αναστα. 12. $\overline{[θ]ς}$ P; so in 20. 17. ὑπνωσα, i.e. ὕπνωσα P. 18. l. ἐξηγέρθην. ἀντιλήμψεται. 21. l. εδιψησεν. 23. l. ποσαπλως. 24. i.e. κρεισ|σο]ν 26. l. επαινεσουσιν. 27. l. ουτως. 28. l. σε.

1. In the MSS. this verse runs: σὺ δέ, κύριε, ἀντιλήμπτωρ μου εἶ, δόξα μου κτλ.

3. The beginning of the new verse is marked by a gap as well as by punctuation.

5. The parchment supports the Alexandrinus and the Psalterium Graeco-Latinum Veronense (R) in reading εισηκουσεν for ἐπήκουσεν.

7. The rest of the line was presumably left blank (cf. l. 16) to mark the διάψαλμα. Between (a) and (b) only one line is lost containing the beginning of v. 7 οὐ φοβηθήσομαι.

9. συνεπιτιθεμένων ℵAR : ἐπιτιθεμένων B.

14. Between (b) and (c) four lines are missing if v. 8 was written out in full and assuming that the reading of l. 15 is correct. What is certain is that in (c) the scribe went back to v. 6 of the psalm, so it is probable that in the intervening space, otherwise unaccounted for, he wrote out vv. 8 and 9.

16. There is nothing to indicate that the scribe recognized that this verse was out of place. The papyrus follows the Alexandrinus in reading δε after εγω.

22. σε instead of σοι is the reading of B^b, $ℵ^{c.a}$ and also of the Turin Psalter (T).

23. Assuming that Ps. lxii was written in full, 6 lines must intervene between (c) and (d).

462. PSALMS cxlviii–cl.

Acquired in 1917. 28 × 7 cm. Sixth to seventh century.

This peculiar text, written on the flesh-side of a vertical strip of parchment, consists of phrases reproduced in order, but without regard to their sense, from Psalms cxlviii, cxlix, and cl. The text starts with Ps. cxlviii. 9 and, with the exception of the last two verses, the

scribe has copied down the initial words of each verse, at times the whole phrase. He has followed the same procedure in Ps. cxlix; but in Ps. cl, where each verse consists of two nearly equal phrases each beginning with *αἰνεῖτε*, he has written down the initial words of each phrase, so that the text of this psalm is not far from complete. The scribe's knowledge of orthography (cf. *αυτοκη* for *εὐδοκεῖ* in l. 10) and of grammar (cf. *αυτα* for *αὐτοῖς* in l. 15) is of the scantiest, and the fact that he spells *ποιῆσαι ποιησε* in l. 13 and *πεησ⟨ε⟩* in l. 15 suggests that he wrote to dictation. In contrast to this, the hand, of the bold slanting variety (cf. Abb. 99 in Schubart's *Griechische Palaeographie*), is distinctly good, and the usual contractions of the *nomina sacra* occur. It is hard to say how much is missing; the enlarged initial letters make it clear that the lines are substantially complete, but this column may have been preceded by another one or even two. The sheet of parchment cannot have been much higher than it is, nor is it likely that the writer started in the middle of Ps. cxlviii.[1] More puzzling is the purpose of this text. This irrationally abridged form can hardly have been intended for ordinary reading, nor can it have been used in church except possibly for antiphonal singing. Possibly it may have been used as an amulet, for, though the psalms here copied have no obvious prophylactic power, Mlle Claire Préaux has recently argued ('Une Amulette Chrétienne', *Chronique d'Égypte*, 20, 1935, pp. 361–70: the amulet in question consists of the third verse of Ps. xxviii (xxix)) that any passage glorifying the power and majesty of God might be used to repel the powers of evil.[2] The elaborate *alpha* and *omega*, with crosses in between, followed by the Chi-Rho below, support this view.[3]

Such a MS. can be of little or no textual value; but it is interesting to note—since the elaborate ornament implies, I think, that the scribe had reached the end of the book he was copying—that his MS. omitted the *ψαλμὸς ἰδιόγραφος*, cli (BT add it after the subscription). The usual contractions of the *nomina sacra* are found and the final words of the line are frequently abbreviated. On the verso are a few scrawlings, mostly of numerals, in a rough cursive hand. The provenance of the text is unknown.

. . . . .

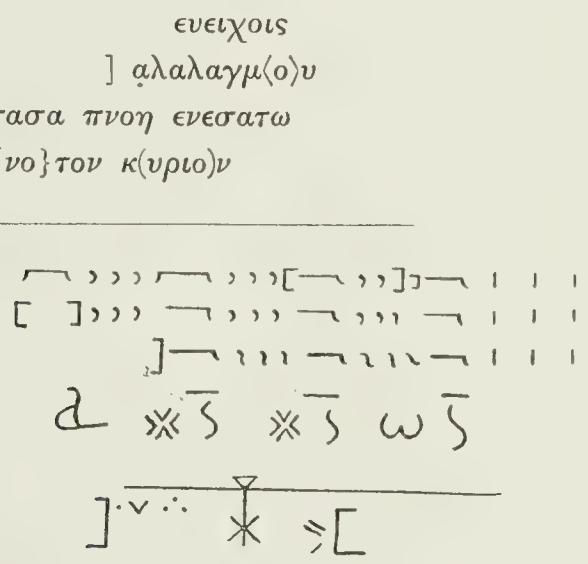
	[τα] ορη	cxlviii. 9
	[τα] θηρια	10
	βασιλις της γ[ης]	11
	νεανισκ(οι) και παρ(θενοι)	12
5	η εξομολογι[σις]	13
	υμνος πασι	14
	ạσạτε τω κυ(ριω)	cxlix. 1
	ẹ[υ]φ̣ρ̣ανθητω ισ(ρα)ηλ	2
	ενεσατωσαν	3

[1] Parchment rolls are mentioned by ancient writers, but the only examples known to me are **29**, P.S.I. 15 (doubtful), P. Lit. Lond. 211 and the fragment of Tatian's *Diatessaron* from Dura (ed. G. H. Kraeling, London, 1935). That either the present text or **461** or P. Giss. Bibl. 34 consisted of more than a single sheet seems unlikely: v. Schubart, *Das Buch*², p. 109.

[2] The Psalm most commonly used for magical purposes was xc. Cf. the list in Mlle Préaux's article, p. 365.

[3] Mr. T. C. Skeat suggests that this text may be one column of [? Latin]-Greek glossary to the Psalms; and, though the lines in this column are complete, there may have been another column to the right. But the omission of so many difficult words in cxlix and the repetition of *αἰνεῖτε* in cl tell against this view.

10	οτι αυτοκη κ(υριο)ς	4
	καυχησοντε	5
	κ(αι) υψωσιν του θ(εο)υ	6
	του ποιησε εκδικισιν	7
	ṭου δουσε του⟨ς⟩	8
15	του πεησ⟨ε⟩ εν αυτα	9
	ενιτε τον θ(εο)ν εν της αγι⟨οις⟩	cl. 1
	ενιτε αυτον εν {η} τω στερ[εω(ματι)]	
	ενιτε αυτον επι δες τυνᾳ[σ]	2
	τιες αυτου	
20	ενιτε αυτον κατα το πληθος	
	ενι᾽τε᾽ αυτον εν εχω σαλπιγ⟨γος⟩	3
	ε[νιτε] ᾳυτον εν ψαλτηριῳ	
	ενι᾽τε᾽ αυτον εν δυ[μπανω]	4
	ενι᾽τε᾽ ᾳυṭ[ο]ν εν χορταις και	
25	[ε]νι᾽τε᾽ εν κυμφαλις	
	ευειχοις	
	[ ] ᾳλαλαγμ⟨ο⟩υ	
	πασα πνοη ενεσατω	
	{νο}τον κ(υριο)ν	



3. l. *βασιλεῖς.* 5. l. *ἐξομολόγησις.* 6. *ὕμνος* P. 9. l. *αἰνεσάτωσαν.* 10. l. *εὐδοκεῖ.* 11. l. *καυχήσονται.* 12. l. *ὑψώσεις.* 13. l. *ποιῆσαι ἐκδίκησιν.* 14. l. *δῆσαι.* 15. l. *ποιῆσαι ἐν αὐτοῖς.* 16 sqq. l. *αἰνεῖτε.* l. *τοῖς.* 18–19. l. *ταῖς δυναστείαις.* 21. l. *ἤχῳ.* 23. l. *τυμπάνῳ.* 24. l. *χορδαῖς.* 25. l. *κυμβάλοις.* 26. l. *εὐήχοις.* 28. l. *αἰνεσάτω.*

5. For the opening words of this verse—*αἰνεσάτωσαν τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου*—the writer has substituted two words from the final phrase, just as in l. 6 he has taken two words from the middle phrase of v. 14.

6. *υμνος πασι (τοις οσιοις αυτου).* It is clear that the MS. which our scribe copied retained these words, as do A, ℵ and other MSS.; they are omitted by the Vaticanus.

8. For this unusual contraction of Ισραηλ (ιηλ is the commonest), see L. Traube, *Nomina Sacra*, p. 107; it is also found in ℵ and in the Vienna Genesis of the fifth–sixth century (Traube, p. 75).

12. In writing *και* for *αἱ* here the scribe may have been influenced by the *καὶ ὑψώσει* of cxlviii. 14.

17. *τω* is absent from the MSS.

25. [ε]νι᾽τε᾽: add. *αυτον* cett.

27. The second half of this verse runs *αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν ἐν κυμβάλοις ἀλαλαγμοῦ*: in our text there is only room for one word. As the line, except for the last word, is identical with the preceding the scribe probably contented himself with writing *ενιτε.*

463. THE GOSPEL OF MARY.

Acquired in 1917. Oxyrhynchus. 8·9 × 9·9 cm. Early third century.
PLATE I.

A happy chance and the kindness of Professor Carl Schmidt have enabled the identity of this leaf from a papyrus codex—which I had formerly classed among the nameless apocrypha not uncommon in the papyri—to be established beyond any doubt. A first reading of this fragment of a 'Gospel', which consists mainly of a dispute between Mary Magdalene and some of the apostles who denied that her account of the teaching of the Saviour was true, made it clear that it aligned itself not with any of the historic or quasi-historic narratives of the life of Christ but with those works of early Christian literature which impose on a framework of narrative a superstructure of esoteric teaching. The use of *σωτήρ* to the exclusion of all other names for our Lord suggested a Gnostic origin for the work,[1] which was confirmed by the prominence assigned to Mary Magdalene in the fragment and the hostility her position aroused in the disciples. One of the characteristics of Gnostic teaching was the importance, in theory and practice, attached to women; and among the arid theosophical wastes of the *Pistis Sophia* are several incidents which recalled the quarrel recorded in our papyrus. Thus in Bk. I. 36 (57)[2] Peter complains that Mary is usurping the disciples' place and speaks too much, and again, in II. 72 (161) Mary complains that Peter has threatened her and hates the sex; elsewhere Mary is prominent as a questioner of Jesus, and near the end of the book (IV. 132 (342)) the Saviour 'proclaimed her blessed again and again'. In II. 100 Andrew, who also appears in our text, is specially rebuked for ignorance. This question of the importance of Mary Magdalene in the Gnostic writings is discussed at some length by Professor Schmidt in the introduction (p. lxxxvii) to his edition of the *Pistis Sophia* (Leipzig, 1925), and a quotation from the unpublished Coptic text of the Gospel of Mary in a Berlin papyrus of the fifth century provided the clue to the identity of our papyrus. The passage is worth quoting as it illustrates the background of our fragment. Professor Schmidt writes (p. lxxxviii):

'Zu unserer Ueberraschung finden wir in dem noch unpublizierten koptisch-gnostischen Papyrus Berolinensis der ägyptischen Papyrusabteilung an erste stelle eine Abhandlung, die als Unterschrift den Titel trägt: *Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μαριάμ*. Dieses Euangelium hat ausserlich ebenfalls die Form von Unterredungen des Sotêr mit den Jüngern. Der Herr befiehlt, das Euangelium vom Reiche zu predigen und geht von ihnen. Darüber sind die Jünger betrübt, denn wie könnten sie das Euangelium vom Reiche des Menschensohnes predigen, wenn man des Herrn selbst nicht geschont hätte. Da tröstet Maria die Trauernden mit dem Hinweis, dass des Herrn Gnade mit ihnen sein wurde und sie beschirmen vielmehr sollten sie seine Herrlichkeit preisen. Infolgedessen wendet sie den Verstand der Jünger zum Guten hin und sie beginnen betreffs der Worte des Erlösers zu diskutieren. Da spricht Petrus folgendes zu Maria, "Schwester, wir wissen dass der Herr dich liebte mehr als die übrigen Frauen. Sage uns die Worte des Erlösers, deren

[1] See note to l. 4.

[2] References are to the English translation by G. R. S. Mead, 2nd edition (London, 1921); the reader may also be referred to the literal translation by George Horner (London, 1924).

du dich erinnerst, diese, die du kennst, nicht wir, noch haben wir sie gehört". Maria erklärt sich bereit, das Verborgene ihnen zu verkündigen und trägt den Inhalt eines Traumgeschichtes vor, dessen sie vom Erlöser teilhaft geworden war.'

At this point **463** takes up the story, and after describing, with a gap of some lines, the dispute among the disciples, ends with their resolution to go and preach 'The Gospel according to Mary'.

A copy of **463** was sent to Professor Schmidt, who confirmed the identity of the papyrus, and very kindly supplied me with the translation of the Coptic text (in which the Greek words in the original are retained) which is printed below. This has not only made it possible to restore the correct reading at points where the Greek text was mutilated or corrupt and place it in its proper context, but also provides an interesting basis for a comparison between the two versions. The differences between the two are more numerous than we might expect; occasionally (see notes to ll. 11 and 30) they are probably due to corruption in the Greek text; but this does not account for the absence in Professor Schmidt's translation of the Coptic (henceforth referred to as S) of ll. 14 sq. in the Greek, or for its different handling of ll. 19–20. Another point of some interest which emerges from the comparison is that even when the Coptic text employs Greek words, these are by no means always represented in the Greek original, e.g. *γυμνάζειν* when the Greek has *συνζητεῖν*, in l. 20. Another result is that, as the pages of the Greek are numbered and as S gives us approximately the extent of the gap between the two sides, we can calculate the length of this initial section of the Gospel, the beginning of which is lost in the Coptic; this preface probably occupied some 480 lines, and just where our text ends, the Gospel proper, the esoteric teaching of whatever Gnostic sect produced the work, begins.

There would seem to be little doubt that the Gospel of Mary was one of the oldest Gnostic documents and probably was already in existence when Irenaeus was writing. From it quite probably derives the tradition which ascribes such importance to Mary Magdalene and which gave rise to the works known as 'The Greater' and 'The Lesser Questions of Mary'. Further, as Professor Schmidt points out (*op. cit.*, p. lxxxvii), the important part played by women in *Pistis Sophia* is not peculiar to Bks. I–III; it is no less conspicuous in Bk. IV, which is a separate work. Hence we are justified in looking for a common source for these incidents or passages of a narrative rather than a speculative character scattered throughout *Pistis Sophia*; and the most likely source, as Professor Schmidt points out, is the *Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μαριάμ*. **463** further supports Professor Schmidt's hypothesis that Gnostic or Christian works written in Coptic are only translations from Greek originals;[1] in this case, the existence of a Greek text at such an early date is conclusive evidence.

Needless to say, no incident in any of the four canonical Gospels recalls even remotely the scene described in this fragment. It is, however, probable enough that Luke xxiv. 10, where, after the Crucifixion, the disciples refuse to believe the women's story of the empty tomb, and John xx. 18, where Mary Magdalene relates to the disciples what Jesus said to her at the tomb, provided Gnostic writers—who wished both to give some slight air of

[1] *Die Urschrift der Pistis Sophia* in *Ztschr. für die NT. Wissenschaft*, 24 (1925), p. 218 sq.

verisimilitude to their theosophic revelations and at the same time to emphasize the importance of women in the New Testament story—with a starting-point for their work. Further, the writer of this apocryphal work is very slightly indebted to the N.T. for his vocabulary; a few parallelisms have been pointed out in the notes, but, with the doubtful adaptation of St. Paul's words in l. 27, they can all be explained as being part of the common stock of Christian writers. The author's style is remarkably plain and almost crude, and suggests that his acquaintance with literary Greek, even perhaps with Christian literature, was not extensive, and that the work was not intended for a cultivated audience. It should, however, be remembered that the text given us in the papyrus is obviously an inferior one, and the divergencies from S suggest that a different, and perhaps better, Greek version may have been in circulation.

The text is written in a hand which, if clear and upright, is also ugly and ill-proportioned, and shows considerable cursive influence. It is singularly plain and has no peculiarities except the tendency to height in certain letters—*κ*, *υ*, *τ*, *ρ*. It bears a very close resemblance to P. Oxy. VIII. 1100, an edict of Subatianus Aquila dated in A.D. 206, although *ε* is more rounded in the latter and *ο* larger; of this hand the editor remarks that it approximates to the literary type, and being accurately dated, is of palaeographical interest. Another hand with which it has affinities is P. Oxy. VI. 853 (= Schubart, *Pal.*, Abb. 86), a Thucydidean commentary, probably written sometime during the second century. **463** can hardly be later than the middle of the third century, and probably is considerably earlier. The scribe was not a careful copyist; in ll. 6–7 he has repeated two words without crossing them out and—not to mention more serious faults in the MS.—in l. 27 he has failed to supply an omitted letter. Of the usual theological contractions only $\overline{\alpha\nu\omicron\nu}$ for *ἄνθρωπον* is found in l. 27; the only other *nomen sacrum* to occur is *σωτήρ* which, as not infrequently (e.g. in P. Oxy. 1081), is left uncontracted. In l. 25 *ν* has been omitted in the middle of a word and a line drawn over the preceding vowel. The scribe used a smooth breathing once, in l. 19, and a misplaced accent in l. 23; the diaeresis is found twice, in ll. 6 and 14. For punctuation a high point is employed twice, in ll. 2 and 9; it does not occur where we should expect it, at the end of Mary's speech in l. 18. To judge from S, some eight or ten lines have been lost after l. 15, so that a column of writing would have measured c. 7·5 × 12 cm. Recto precedes verso, and as, before being folded, the sheets of papyrus were generally laid with the recto side uppermost with the result that verso preceded recto in the first half of the quire, it is probable that our leaf came from the second half of a quire, and that the codex consisted of several quires.

The small strip which comprises the outer side of the leaf was in a small packet with a few other literary fragments, the provenance of all of which was definitely stated to be Oxyrhynchus. It was not until later that I came across the main fragment of the leaf in a separate folder to which no provenance was assigned. There is no reason to doubt that the origin of the text is Oxyrhynchus. Above l. 1 and to the right of the numeration are some ink marks, which may be the traces of some letters in a cursive hand; but the scribe has been careless with his pen in more places than one.

For valuable corrections and supplements of the text I wish to thank Mr. P. L. Hedley and Mr. J. W. B. Barns.

κα

το λοιπον δρομου καιρο]υ χρονου
αιωνος αναπαυσιν ε[ν] σιγη· ταυ
τ[α] ε῾ι῾πουσα η Μαριαμμη εσιωπη
σε[ν] ως του σωτηρος μεχρι ωδε
ειρηκοτος Ανδρεας λεγε[ι α]δελ
φοι τι υμειν δοκει πε[ρ]ι των {περι των} λαληθεντων εγω μεν
γαρ ου πιστευω ταυτ[[ε]]᾽α῾ σ[ο]ν σ[ω]
τηρα ειρηκεναι· εδοκει γ[αρ ετε]
ρογνωμονειν τη εκ[ε]ιν[ου εν]
νοια περι τοιουτ[ω]ν πρα[γμα]
των εξεταζομενος ο σω[τηρ]
λαθρα γυν[α]ικι ελαλει και ⟨ου⟩ φ[α]
νερως ινα παντες ακουσα[ιμεν]
[τι α]ξιολογωτερον α[.]ων[. . .]
[. . .]ε[. . . . .]
[ ]·[ ]
. . . . . .

κβ

του σωτηρος Λευε[ι]ς λεγει Πετρω
Πετρε ἀ[ει] σο[ι] το οργιλον παρακει
ται και αρτι ουτως συνζητει[ς] τη
γυναικι ως αντικειμενος αυτη
ει ο σωτη[ρ] αξιαν αυτην ηγησατο
σῦ τις ει εξουθενων αυτην παν
τως γαρ εκεινος ειδως αυτην ασ
φ[αλ]ω[ς] ηγαπησεν μαλλ[ο]ν αισχυ(ν)
θω[με]ν και ενδυσαμενο[ι] τον
τ[ελειο]ν αν(θρωπ)ον εκεινο το προστα⟨χ⟩
θ[εν η]μειν π[ο]ιησωμεν κηρυσ{ε}
σ[ειν το] ευαγγ[ε]λιον μηδεν ο[ρ]ιζον
τ[ες μ]ηδε νομοθετ[ο]υντες ως ει
π[εν ο] σωτηρ [ταυ]τα ειπων ο Λευ
[εις με]ν απ[ελθων] ηρχεν κη[ρυσ]
[σειν το ευαγγελι]ον [κατα Μαριαμ]
. . . . . .

6. ὔμειν P : l. ὑμῖν. 14. ἵνα P. 25. αισχῦ P. 27. $\overline{\text{ανον}}$ P. 28. l. ἡ]μῖν. 29. εναγ᾽γελιον P.

TRANSLATION.

(Recto) '. . . for the rest of my course of the ages of time I shall find rest in silence'. When she had spoken thus Mary held her peace, for thus far had the Saviour spoken. Andrew says, 'Brethren, what think ye of that which has been said? For my part I do not believe that thy Saviour said this. For it seems to differ in spirit from his thoughts.' ⟨Peter says⟩ 'Did thy Saviour when he was questioned concerning these matters speak privily to a woman and ⟨not⟩ openly, that we all might hear something of more note . . .'

(Verso) '(think you that I lie concerning) the Saviour?' Levi says to Peter, 'Peter, thy angry temper is ever with thee and even now thou questionest thus the woman as though thou wast her adversary. If the Saviour deemed her worthy, who art thou to set her at nought? For He knowing her thoroughly loved her surely. Rather let us be ashamed and putting on the perfect man let us do that which was commanded unto us, namely to preach the gospel neither making rules nor laying down laws other ⟨than the⟩ Saviour has said.' When he had spoken thus, Levi departed, and began to preach the Gospel according to Mary . . .

THE COPTIC VERSION.[1]

Als die *ψυχή* ausser Wirksamkeit gesetzt (entkräftet) die dritte *ἐξουσία*, ging sie nach oben und sah die vierte *ἐξουσία*. Sie machte aus sieben *μορφαί*. Die erste *μορφή* ist die Finsternis, die zweite die *ἐπιθυμία*, die dritte die Unwissenheit, die vierte ist die Eifersucht des Todes, die fünfte ist das Reich des *σάρξ*, die sechste ist die törichte Klugheit (Einsicht) der *σάρξ*, die siebte ist die zornige (wütende) *σοφία*. Dies sind die sieben *ἐξουσίαι* der *ὀργή*, die befragen die *ψυχή*: Von wannen kommst du, du Menschenmörderin, oder (*ἤ*) wohin gehst du, du Oerter-Entkräftende? Es antwortete die *ψυχή* und sprach: 'Der, welcher mich erfasst, ist durchstossen und der, welcher mich zurückschickt, ist entkräftet, und meine *ἐπιθυμία* ist vollendet und die Unwissenheit ist gestorben. In einem [*κόσμ*]*ος* bin ich erlöst aus einem *κόσμος* und in einem *τύπος* aus einem *τύπος*, der oberhalb und aus der Fessel der Vergessenheit, die ist *zeitlich, von der Zeit* an, wo ich empfangen werde die *ἀνάπαυσις* in dem *χρόνος* des *καιρός* des *αἰών* in Schweigen.'

Als Maria dieses gesagt hatte, schwieg sie, wie wenn (*ὥστε*) der *σωτήρ* gesprochen hatte mit ihr bis hierher. Es antwortete *δέ* Andreas und sprach zu den Brüdern: 'Saget, was sagt ihr inbetreff dessen, was sie gesagt hat? Ich *μέν* glaube (*πιστεύειν*) nicht, dass der *σωτήρ* dieses gesagt hat, wie wenn diese Lehren *γάρ* andere Gedanken sind' (diese Lehren *γάρ* scheinen andere Gedanken zu sein).

Es antwortete Petrus und sprach (und) inbetreff derartiger Dinge hat er sie befragt wegen des *σωτήρ*: 'Hat er etwa (*μήτι*) gesprochen mit einem Weibe heimlich vor uns, nicht offen? Sollen wir selbst umkehren und wir alle auf sie hören? Hat er sie auserwählt vor uns?'

Da (*τότε*) weinte Maria und sprach zu Petrus: 'Mein Bruder Petrus, was denkst du? Denkst du, dass ich es ausersonnen habe allein in meinem Herzen (bei mir) oder (*ἤ*) dass ich in Bezug auf den *σωτήρ* lüge?'

Es antwortete Levi und sprach zu Petrus: 'Petrus, von jeher bist du ein Jähzorniger. Jetzt sehe ich dich, wie du wettkämpfst (*γυμνάζειν*) gegen das Weib nach Art der *ἀντικείμενοι*. Wenn der *σωτὴρ δέ* sie *ἀξία* erachtet hat, wer *δέ* bist du, sie *πάντως* zu verwerfen. Da der *σωτήρ* sie *ἀσφάλως* kennt, deswegen hat er sie mehr geliebt als uns. *μᾶλλον* mögen wir uns schämen und anziehen den *τέλειον* Menschen und uns zu bereiten, wie (*καθώς*) er uns befohlen hat und verkünden (predigen) das *εὐαγγέλιον*, indem wir keine andere *ὅροι* noch (*οὐδέ*) andere *νόμος* auferlegen neben dem (*παρά*), was der *σωτήρ* gesagt hat.'

Als sie . . . dieses, da begannen (*ἄρχεσθαι*) sie zu gehen, [damit sie] verkündeten und predigten das *εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μαρίαμ*.

1. It may be noted that in the Coptic text *καιρος* and *χρονος* have changed places; it is strange that *αναπαυσιν* should be so far from the verb which governs it and that *δρομου* should be unrepresented in the Coptic. Very probably the verb corresponding to *empfangen* in S was *εὑρήσω*: cf. Math. xi. 29 *εὑρήσετε ἀνάπαυσιν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν*—and the Second Epistle of Clement, vi *ποιοῦντες γὰρ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Χριστοῦ εὑρήσομεν ἀνάπαυσιν*.

[1] To place the fragment in its context, the preceding paragraph is also given.

3. *Μαριαμμη*: this form of the name *Μαρία* or *Μαριάμ*, though not found in the LXX or in the N.T., is common in Josephus.

4. Here S—'as though the Saviour had spoken so far with her'—seems to be an improvement on the Greek.

ωs . . . ειρηκοτοs. This use of *σωτήρ* is alien to the canonical Gospels, where the word is used of Him only twice (Luke ii. 11 and John iv. 42), and in neither case as a descriptive label, as it is here. It may be noted that Irenaeus (i. 1, 1) criticizes the Valentinian Gnostics for using it to the exclusion of *κύριοs*. Though not confined to them, it was the common way of referring to Jesus among the Gnostics; it is also regularly used in P. Oxy. 840, a dialogue between Jesus and a Pharisee on the difference between real and ritual purity.

μεχρι ωδε: on the analogy of *μέχρι ἐνταῦθα, μέχρι ταυῦν.*

6. *τι υμιν δοκει*: this expression is regularly used in St. Matthew's Gospel to introduce a question put to the disciples by Jesus.

8. *σον σωτηρα*: the phrase is peculiar, if not corrupt, and is not supported by S, but no other reading is possible.

9. [*ετε*]*ρογνωμονειν*: I owe the supplement to Professor Schubart. *ἑτερογνωμωνεῖν* does not appear in the new Liddell and Scott, but is found in Cyril of Alexandria, i. 540 a. With the supplement in the next line S does not help much; that given in the text does not, however, conflict with S. It is clear that this sentence, which ends with *εν*]*νοια*, is not comment by the author, but a part of Andrew's speech: *εκειν*[*ου* must refer to Jesus. *ἔννοια* was a *terminus technicus* among the Barbelo-Gnostics (cf. Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* i. 27), the sect to whom *Pistis Sophia* may be ascribed, but can hardly be used in that sense here.

11. In S this speech is ascribed to Peter, and ll. 18–19 of **463** presume that Peter has been the speaker. We must suppose that one (or following S, at least two) lines have dropped out of the Greek at this point; the question certainly begins very abruptly with *εξεταζομενοs*. Alternatively, **463** may merely have placed Peter's intervention a little later and so have given the first sentence of his speech to Andrew.

13. Here and in the following lines, the Greek diverges considerably from S. *και φ*[*α*]*νερωs* is very probably corrupt (cf. the *nicht offen* of S, which gives excellent sense). The subsequent sentence appears to be unrepresented in S.

18. *του σωτηροs*: governed by some such phrase as *ψευδομαι περι*, cf. S.

Matthew is referred to as Levi without further qualification in the N.T. only in Luke v. 27–9.

19. The mark over the first *α* of *α*[*ει*] is too deliberate to be a casual blot; as it is distinct from the accent over *συ* in l. 23, it can hardly be anything except a smooth breathing.

19–20. Here again **463** diverges from S, which gives a rather free translation.

ὀργιλόs is used of a person in Tit. i. 7; for *παρακειται* cf. Rom. vii. 21 *ἐμοὶ τὸ κακὸν παράκειται.*

συνζητει[*s*]: this word, not infrequent in the N.T., is used most frequently by Mark. It is remarkable that the Coptic has *γυμνάζειν*, never found in the N.T. in the sense required by S, 'contend against'.

23. The misplaced accent over *συ* is not easy to account for. In speaking, the stress would naturally fall on this word, which might explain the presence of the accent. In the Coptic *παντωs* clearly goes with the preceding words, whereas here it must be the first word of a new sentence.

24. *ασφ*[*αλ*]*ω*[*s*] which according to S should belong to *ειδωs* must be taken with *ηγαπησεν*; this slightly improves the sense. For the sentiment cf. John xi. 5 *ἠγάπα δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦs τὴν Μάρθαν καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῆs καὶ τὸν Λάζαρον.*

27. For *τελειοs* (also in the Coptic) cf. Col. i. 28 (with *ἄνθρωποs*), Eph. iv. 13 (with *ἀνήρ*).

28. Here again **463** differs from S., though not so seriously as before.

29–30. Without the guidance of S (*indem wir keine andere ὅροι noch* (*οὐδέ*) *andere νόμος auferlegen neben dem* (*παρά*), *was der σωτήρ gesagt hat*) this peculiar passage would remain obscure. As it is, the text in l. 30 is probably corrupt; the simplest emendation would be to read ⟨*αλλ*⟩*ωs* ⟨*η*⟩ *ειπεν*. It is possible, however, that the text is correct and that the reference is to such a passage as Luke xii. 14 *τίs με κατέστησε κριτὴν ἢ μεριστὴν ἐφ' ὑμᾶs*, and that S represents a simplification.

31–2. Here S partly fails us; it seems to have differed slightly from the text of **463**.

464. APOCRYPHAL GOSPEL (?).

Acquired in 1917. 2·8 × 7·4 cm. Third century A.D.
PLATE 4.

The recto of this papyrus was used for an official document of some kind, to judge from the type of hand—heavy, rounded and regular; the spacing between the lines is considerable and the letters large, so that not enough survives for identification. The hand is of an official type common in the early third century (cf. Schubart, *Palaeographie*, Abb. 47, an edict of Caracalla, and *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses*, 32 b). [At some later period the verso was used for the Christian literary text—perhaps an apocryphal gospel—written in a small, sloping book-hand, probably not later than the middle of the century. In the small amount of text preserved there does not appear to be any reminiscence of the gospels; but it is too fragmentary to allow any inferences to be drawn about the character of the work. The line drawn below l. 11 presumably marks the end of a chapter or section. The only contraction to be noticed is $\overline{\iota\eta}$ in l. 12; σωτήρ (if correctly read in l. 9) remains unabbreviated, as in **463**.] For the text on the verso, printed below, see *Addenda and Corrigenda*.

. . . .
]θω επι του π̣[
]ε̣ αριθμουν [
]εις επ[
]ζω δια ε̣[
]ντων τω[
] μοιρων [
] κανων [
τ]εσσαρα [
σ]ω̣τηρ οτω̣[
]α̣[.] ολην [
]α̣νατολικ . [
] ω̣ν ι̅η̅ του . [
] . αν ειπ̣[
]' [
. . . .

2. ἀριθμέω is not found in the participle in the N.T.

6. Neither μοῖρα (if that is the word here) nor any of its compounds occur in the N.T.

7. κανών = *measure, rule* is used several times by St. Paul; but the word might also be the contracted genitive of κάνεον, *basket*. It is possible (cf. αριθμουν[in l. 2 and τ]εσσαρα in l. 8) that in this passage there was some version of the feeding of the multitude.

12. For ι̅η̅ = Ἰη(σοῦς)—found in the Apocryphal Gospel, P. Lond. Christ. 1, and in the Chester Beatty codex of Gospels and Acts—cf. G. Rudberg in *Eranos*, xxxiii, pp. 146 sq.

14. The apostrophe was probably placed, as was usual at this period, after the first letter either of γγ or ττ.

465. LITURGY OF ST. MARK.

Acquired in 1917. 12·2 × 19 cm. Sixth century.

A sheet of parchment which has been cut down, probably in ancient times to enable it to be more easily folded; it has been folded twice longways and three times across, and was probably worn as an amulet (the small holes may have been made for string to pass through). It was never part of a codex, as the writing on the verso is in the reverse direction to that on the recto. The main text, which is written in a good, slanting hand, in general appearance not unlike that of the Aphrodito Menander (Schubart, *Pal.*, Abb. 99), contains part of the Anaphora according to the liturgy of St. Mark in the Alexandrian rite; the second text, written in a crude and more upright hand of the same period, is a prayer for the departed, probably from the same liturgy.

The liturgy of St. Mark (or, as it is also called, of Alexandria) is preserved in a Coptic version and in Greek MSS., none of which are earlier than the twelfth century and which represent a later recension than that on which the Coptic version is based; a Latin translation of the Coptic version is given side by side with the version found in three Byzantine codices (the Codex Rossanensis, the Rotulus Vaticanus, and the Rotulus Messanensis) in C. A. Swainson, *The Greek Liturgies* (Cambridge, 1884), pp. 1 sqq.[1] As might be expected, the text in the parchment (which may have been written for use in church) differs very considerably from the later versions; and it is interesting to find that on several occasions (e.g. ll. 23, 24, 26) **465** agrees with the Coptic against the Byzantine versions, while in other places its text is at variance with that of both the Coptic and Byzantine versions. The most notable difference is the very abbreviated form of the Epiclesis found in the parchment (a form which, according to Mr. Ratcliff, suggests that the whole text is no older than the later fourth century) and the omission of the prayer for forgiveness (see note to l. 25) which is preserved in the Coptic version. **465** clearly does not represent a very careful text, and is not free from error; but it may be assumed that it is nearer to the original than the text of any of the existing MSS. Attention has been drawn to the more important differences in the notes[2], and the ends of the lines have been supplied partly from the Coptic version (C), partly from the Byzantine MSS. (codd.), as given in Swainson. The orthography throughout is very corrupt; some, however, of the mis-spellings have been corrected by the first hand, also responsible for the punctuation.

The second text appears to be based (as Mr. Ratcliff pointed out to me) upon the original Greek intercession for the departed; in the Greek version of the Liturgy of St. Mark this is found in an abbreviated form (Swainson, *op. cit.*, pp. 40–2), which bears little verbal resemblance to our text. The Coptic version (translated in F. A. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, 1, p. 170) is closer, but the two are by no means identical. On this Mr. Ratcliff writes: 'The position of this petition is interesting. In the liturgy it precedes Consecration. Its position here after Consecration recalls the εὐχὴ προσφόρου of

[1] I am much indebted to the Rev. E. C. Ratcliff for pointing out to me the relation of the parchment to the existing texts of the Liturgy of St. Mark and for several valuable suggestions.

[2] No indication is given where the parchment differs from one or two only of the Byzantine MSS.

Serapion, which follows a fashion of devotion set by the practice commended by Cyril of Jerusalem, who says that the prayer offered at this moment for the departed is a *μεγίστη ὄνησις* to him. The Copts preserve two liturgies, "St. Basil" and "St. Gregory", which follow Jerusalem practice in placing a complete intercession after Consecration, and thus abandon the Alexandrian tradition as represented by St. Mark. The significance of this whole fragment to the original owner lay, I should think, in this petition for the departed and in its position' (which may explain why the original sheet was cut down to form an amulet).

Recto (hair-side).

αληθως ̣πλ̣ηλης γαρ εστιν [[α]] ̀ο΄ ουρα[νος και η γη της αγιας σου δοξης]
τια του κ(υριο)υ και θ(εο)υ και σοτηρος ημω[ν Ιησου Χ(ριστο)υ πληρ̣ωσον]
ο θ(εο)ς και ταυτην θυσιαν της παρα ̣σ[ου ευλογιας δια του αγιου σου]
πν(ευμ)ατος΄ οτι αυτος ο κ(υριο)ς και θ(εο)ς· κα[ι σωτηρ και παμβασιλευς ημων]
I[[ε]]̀η΄σους ο Χ(ριστο)ς· εν τη ν[[η]]̀υ΄κτι ⟨η⟩ παρετι[του εαυτον υπερ των]
αμαρτιων ημων΄ και των [[η]] υπερ απ[αντων υφιστατο θανατον]
αρτ[[ω]]ον λαβων επι των αγιων κα[ι αχραντων και αμωμων αυ]
του χιρὼν΄ λ αναβρεψας εις τον ουρ[ανον προς σε θ(εο)ς τον ιδιον π(ατε)ρα]
ευχαριστ[[ε]]̀η΄σας ευλογησας αγιασας ̣κ[λασας εδωκε τοις αγιοις μα]
θητης και αποστολοις [[α]]̣ε⟨ι⟩πον λαβε[τε φαγετε εκ τουτου παντες τουτο μου]
τω κ . λ̣ω ̣κ . . σ̣ . . ο̣υμενο .
εστιν το σωμα της γηνης διαθηκης [και υπερ πολλων διαδιδομενον]
εις αφησιν αμαρτιων τουτο ποιειτε [εις την εμην αναμνησιν ωσαυτως]
μετα τω τιπνησι λαβων πο[[λ]]τηλιον ευ[χαριστησας μετεδω]
κεν της ιτιαις αυτου μαθητης και απ[οστολοις ειπων πιετε παν]
τες εξ̣ αυτου τουτο μου εστιν το ῡμα ̣τ[ο υπερ υμων και πολ]
λον ̣αχ̣υ̣ννομενον και τετοκενον εις α[φεσιν αμαρτιων τουτο ποιειτε]
εις την ̀ε̣΄μην αναμνησιν + ωσαγης γαρ ̣α[ν εσθιητε τον αρτον τουτον πινητε δε]
και το ποτηριον τουτο [[.]]̣τον ημων [θανατον καταγγελλετε και την]
ημ[[ν]]ην ανα̣σ̣τ̣α̣σ̣ι̣ν̣ ομολογιται + τον θ̣[ανατον ο θ(εο)ς πατερ παντοκρατωρ]
του μονογενους ̀σ̣ου΄ υιου του κ(υριο)υ και θ(εο)υ [και σωτηρος καταγγελλοντες και]
α̣ναστασιν και την εις ουρανοὺς΄ αν[αληψιν και την εκ δεξιων σου καθεδραν]
̣και την εντοξον αυτου τευτεραν π[αρουσιαν απεκδεχομε̣νοι εν η μελλει ερχε]
σ̣θ̣α̣ι̣ κ̣ρ̣ινη την ο̣ικουμενην εν δ̣ικ[αιοσυνη και αποδουναι εκαστω]
κατα τα εργα αυτου [ειτε α]γ̣α̣θ̣ο̣ν̣ [ειτε κακον σοι εκ των σων δωρων προεθηκα]
μ̣ε̣ν̣ ε̣ν̣ω̣πιον σου [και δεομεθα] και παρ[ακαλουμεν σε, εξαποστειλον σου]
το πν(ευμ)α το αγιον επι̣ τ̣α . . ο̣ρ̣ω̣μενα σου [δωρα, επι τον αρτον τουτον]
και επι το π[[ε]]οτηριον [του]το

Verso (flesh-side).

και ποιησης το⟨ν⟩ μεν αρτον τουτο σω[μα Ιησου Χ(ριστο)υ το δε ποτη]
ριον ημα της κηνης διαθηκης΄ α[υτου του κ(υριο)υ και θ(εο)υ και σωτηρος και παμ]
βασιλευς ημων Ιεσου Χ(ριστο)υ αμην + ινα [γενωνται πασιν ημιν τοις με]
ταλαμβανωσιν εις πιστιν εις νεψ[ιν εις ιασιν εις ευφροσυνην εις αγιασμον]

εις εμπανανεωσιν ψυχης σωματο[ς και πν(ευμ)ατος εις κοινωνιαν ζωης αιωνιου]
εις σοφροσ(υν)ην και αφθαρσιας εις αξ[ινα σου]
και εν τουτο καθος και εν παντι τ[οξασθη και υμνηθη και αγιασθη το]
35 αγιον και εντιμων κα(ι) πανεχ[σου ονομα εις α]
φησιν αμαρτιω᾽ν′ + (2nd hand) σοι νει᾽η′θ̣[

(2nd hand).

+ δεσποτα κ(υρι)ε παντοκρατωρ π̣[ατηρ του κ(υριο)υ και σωτηρος]
ημων Ι(ησο)υ Χ(ριστο)υ δεομεθα και πα[ρακαλουμεν σε φιλανθ]
ρωπε των κοιμηθεντων̣ [πατερων ημων και αδελφων εν]
40 πιστι θ(εο)υ αναπαυσαμενω[ν]
μετα των αγιων σου συνα[γεσθαι ? ενθα απεδρα οδυνη]
και λυπη και στεναγμος̣ [μετα των]
αγιων συνανεγειρων : κα̣[ι την σαρκα αυτων αναστησον εν η]
ωρισας ημερα κατα τα[ς αληθεις και αψευδεις]
45 σου επαγγελειας αποδι[δους αυτοις ο οφθαλμος]
ουκ ειδεν και ους′ ουκ ηκ[ουσεν και επι καρδιαν]
αν(θρωπ)ου ο̣[υκ] ανεβη

1. l. πλήρης. 2. l. διὰ . . σωτῆρος. κυ και θυ . . ιυ χυ P; so elsewhere. 4. πνατος P. 5. l. παρεδίδου. 6. l. τὸν. 8. l. χειρῶν ἀναβλέψας. 10. l. μαθηταῖς . . εἰπὼν. 11. l. καινῆς. 12. l. ἄφεσιν. 13. l. τὸ δειπνῆσαι . . ποτήριον. 14. l. τοῖς ἰδίοις . . μαθηταῖς. 15. l. αἷμα. 16. l. ἐκχυνόμενον . . ? διδόμενον. 17. l. ὅσακις. 18. l. ἐμὸν. 19. l. ἐμὴν . . ὁμολογεῖτε. 22. l. ἔνδοξον . . δευτέραν. 23. l. κρῖναι. 28. l. ποιήσῃ. 29. l. αἷμα καινῆς. 30. l. βασιλέως. ϊεσου ϊνα P. 31. l. νῆψιν. 32. l. ἐπανανέωσιν. 33. l. σωφροσύνην. 34. l. τούτῳ καθὼς . . δοξάσθῃ. 35. l. ἔντιμον. 40. l. πίστει. 45. l. ἐπαγγελίας.

1. *Vere pleni sunt caeli* C: πλήρης γὰρ ἐστιν ὡς ἀληθῶς ὁ οὐρανός Cod. Ross., Rot. Vat.: om. ἐστιν ὡς Rot. Mess.

2. Add. τῆς ἐπιφανείας after διὰ codd. *Per filium tuum unigenitum* C.

3. Perhaps ταυτην ⟨την⟩ θυσιαν. Probably there is not room for δια της επιφοιτησεως (*per illapsum super illud* C.)

4. This form of contraction for πνεύματος, though not so frequent as πνς, is not unknown, see L. Traube, *Nomina Sacra*, p. 94.

6. Two of the MSS. add σαρκί after θάνατον, for which there would probably be room in our text; C has *propria sua voluntate.*

7. Possibly αθανατων instead of αμωμων, with Rot. Mess.; C has *in manus suas sanctas, immaculatas, puras, beatas, et vivificantes.*

10. τοῖς ἁγίοις καὶ μακαρίοις αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς codd.: *apostolis puris* C. The supplement εκ τουτου παντες is based on C; the words do not appear in the codd.

11. της καινης διαθηκης: these words are out of place here and should come after το αιμα in l. 15. The scribe attempted to insert the proper words τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κλώμενον καὶ διαδιδόμενον (or an analogous expression) above the line; but the ink is too faded to determine what he wrote. Between the κ and the λ there are certain traces of one letter.

The supplement υπερ πολλων is taken from C's *pro multis*; the words are absent from the codd. as are also the words τουτο . . . αναμνησιν in the next line

13. The words καὶ κεράσας ἐξ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος, which come in the codd. after ποτήριον and are also represented in C, were omitted from our text. It agrees with C in omitting here the αναβλεψας εις τον ουρανον κτλ. of l. 8, which is repeated in the codd. and also omits the *et benedixit eum et sanctificavit eum et gustavit* of C.

17. The supplement in this line is unusually long and it is probable that the scribe omitted *τὸν* or *τοῦτον*.

19. The scribe has omitted at least *ἄχρις οὗ ἂν ἔλθω* after *ὁμολογεῖτε*.

20–1. In these lines the version of the parchment is considerably abbreviated.

23. Here the parchment agrees with the *orbem* of C, against the *ζῶντας καὶ νέκρους* of the codd.

24. Here again the parchment agrees with C which reads after *secundum opera sua, sive bonum sive malum*; these latter words are not represented in the codd.

25. After *ενωπιον σου* C has a prayer of some length for the forgiveness of sins, which is not found in the codd. and was clearly also absent from the parchment.

The text of the Epiclesis in the parchment is only a quarter the length of that in either C or the codd.

26. Before *super hunc panem* C has *super haec veneranda dona proposita coram te*, to which nothing to correspond is found in the codd.; clearly it or something similar stood in the parchment, but the parchment is so faded at this point that the participle employed cannot be read. Perhaps *π̣ρ̣⟨ο⟩ορωμενα*, 'which thou seest here', might be read, as Mr. Ratcliff suggests: but it cannot be verified.

27. The latter part of this line was left blank.

28. The supplement here is based on C's *corpus Christi*; in the codd. *σῶμα* stands alone.

33. *και αφθαρσιας* is probably misplaced; it should go in the preceding line after *αιωνιον*.

Mr. Ratcliff tentatively proposed *αξ[ιολογιαν]* here, and thinks it might have been suggested by the *ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον* of the introductory dialogue; but I can find no instance of this word. We should expect *εις δοξολογιαν του αγιου σου ονοματος*.

35–6. *πανεχ̣[* : *πανεχυρον* suggests itself, but does not appear in the lexicon. Possibly *πανελ̣[ημον* might be read. *παν|αγιον* would make l. 34 rather too long.

The text of the parchment is confused at this point. *εις αφεσιν αμαρτιων* should precede the clause beginning *ινα σου* in l. 33. Owing to its intrusion here it is quite uncertain whether the parchment read *συν Ιησου Χριστω και αγιω Πνευματι* after *ονομα*, with C and the codd.

It is not clear to what the words at the end of l. 36 refer; they do not appear to be part of the prayer which follows in the MSS.

39. *ρωπε των*: *φιλανθ]ρωπε* seems the most plausible restoration, but obliges us to assume that *υπερ* has fallen out before *των*. For the supplement to the line see Brightman, *op. cit.*, p. 169, 34.

40. Perhaps supply *απ αρχης κοσμου*, see Brightman, *loc. cit.*

41–2. Brightman, *op. cit.*, 170, 12 = Isaiah, xxxv. 10.

43–4. Brightman, *loc. cit.*

45–7 = 1 Cor. ii. 9.

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466. TWO BYZANTINE HYMNS.[1]

Acquired in 1920. Fayûm. 22·6 × 11·9 cm. Seventh century. PLATE 1.

The two hymns which constitute the main content of this sheet of papyrus are of the type known as *canons* (or, more strictly, *τροπάρια*, nine of which composed a *κανών*), the predominant form taken by the hymn in the middle Byzantine period; the canon is described by A. Baumstark (art. 'Hymns (Greek Christian)', in Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, 7, p. 9) as follows: 'The canon . . . is a mode in which the singing of *troparia* is combined with all the Biblical songs recited in Matins, the short and unvarying

[1] For identifying the *genus* of these texts, for the metrical reconstruction, and for the substance of this introduction, I am deeply indebted to Dr. G. Zuntz and, through him, to Professor Höeg who co-operated with him. See also *Addenda and Corrigenda*.

hypopsalma of an earlier day giving place to poetical strophes of considerable length and of the same metrical structure.' That they belong to this type is clear from their relation to the eighth and ninth Biblical Odes; these, regularly sung at Matins, comprise eight songs from the Old Testament and one from the New, the latter consisting of the *Magnificat* and the *Benedictus*; to each a τροπάριον was attached and a series of such τροπάρια formed a κανών. Each contains three strophes, as is usual with Byzantine canons, of the same metrical structure; the first one, A, has, as was not uncommon, a theotokion attached to it.

These hymns represent a primitive stage of the development of the canon, and consequently are of some importance for the history of Byzantine literary forms; they form a link between the earlier Christian hymns and the later more highly developed and more sophisticated hymnology of the Byzantine age. The invention of the canon is commonly attributed to Andreas of Crete (675–740), although its existence in the fifth and sixth centuries is attested by at least three independent witnesses (see W. Christ–M. Paranikas, *Anthologia Graeca Carminum Christianorum* (Leipzig, 1871), pp. xxix sq.). Christ and Paranikas (*op. cit.*, p. xxxv) would delete the mention of the word κανών in these passages as a later addition; but it seems more probable that in parts of the Greek East, in Egypt at least, the canon had been known long before it was developed and standardized by Andreas in the eighth century. This view is strongly supported by **466**; for even if it is dated as late as the eighth century, we can hardly suppose that the invention of Andreas would have found its way, in his lifetime, to an Egyptian provincial church at a time when Egypt was under Arab domination. Further, the irregularities both of the text and of its arrangement, and the crude style of the hymns, as contrasted with the work of Andreas, certainly do not suggest that the canon, in its finished form, had recently been introduced from outside Egypt.

With a few alterations—justified by the corrupt state of the text, which in places, e.g. in ll. 8 and 14, needs considerable emendation to give any sense at all—the text of the two hymns can be reduced to a metrical scheme. Each consists of three strophes; in both each strophe begins with the same words (in A with a doxology, in B with Σέ); in both each strophe ends with a refrain, and the statements between the initial word or words and the refrain are invariably in the form of participial clauses. The refrains (ὑπακοαί or ἐφύμνια) were probably sung by the congregation; they are a characteristic feature of early Christian (and so probably Jewish, see Christ–Paranikas, *op. cit.*, p. xvi) poetry, and are to be found e.g. in the Parthenaion of Methodius (Christ–Paranikas, *op. cit.*, p. 33) and in P. Ryl. 7 (see also *Constitutiones Apostolorum* (ed. Funk), ii. 57, 6). What is unusual is to find, together with the refrain, the system of identical words at the beginning of strophes. The metrical principle is that of syllabic equality; no importance is laid on the distribution of accents; hiatus, and some variation in the caesura, are allowed. The scheme of A is 8 : 12 : 12 : 10 (with a possible exception in the first line of the theotokion); that of B is 10 : 10 : 7. (For metrical purposes the refrain does not count as a part of the strophe; θεός, it should be noticed, is dissyllabic throughout.)

These two hymns do not appear to be preserved elsewhere; but among the canons attributed to St. John Damascene is a small group of poems which, both in structure and

style—they are less theological and simpler in phrasing than the rest—bear some resemblance to our texts. They are the last three odes of the canon sung at Matins during Ascension (Christ–Paranikas, *op. cit.*, pp. 227–8), of which the ninth may be quoted:[1]

Σὲ τὸν λυτρωτὴν τοῦ κόσμου, Χριστὸν τὸν Θεόν,
οἱ ἀπόστολοι βλέποντες ἐνθέως ὑψούμενον
μετὰ δέους σκιρτῶντες ἐμεγάλυνον.

Σὲ τὸν καταβάντα ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς,
καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον σώσαντα καὶ τῇ ἀναβάσει σου
ἀνυψώσαντα, τοῦτο μεγαλύνομεν.

Χαῖρε, Θεοτόκε μῆτερ Χρίστου τοῦ Θεοῦ,
ὃν ἐκύησας, σήμερον ἐκ γῆς ἀνιπτάμενον
σὺν ἀγγέλοις ὁρῶσα ἐμεγάλυνες.

and with the first verse of A the first verse of the seventh ode may be compared:

ὁ ἐν καμίνῳ πυρὸς | τοὺς ὑμνολόγους σώσας παῖδας
εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεός, ὁ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν.

We may perhaps conclude that St. John Damascene embodied in his collection some extant hymns reflecting the simpler piety of an earlier age. The theotokion which forms the fourth strophe of A also appears to be new; but theotokia of this type from the *ὕμνος ἀκάθιστος* onwards (Christ–Paranikas, *op. cit.*, p. 146) are numerous (cf. *Paracletice* (Venice, 1851), pp. 103, 108, 194; for the *μεγαλυνάρια* see Christ–Paranikas, *op. cit.*, p. 85, &c.); and there are two in the canons of St. John Damascene which bear a general resemblance to ours and which also preserve metrical correspondence with the preceding strophes (Christ–Paranikas, *op. cit.*, pp. 233 and 235).

It is difficult to determine the occasion for which these hymns were intended, since it is not explicitly stated (as we might expect it to be) in the headings. That they were related to the eighth and ninth Biblical Odes respectively there need be no doubt; the heading of A explicitly refers to the eighth Biblical ode and that of B—*εἰς τὸ μεγ(αλύνει) τὴν ὑψηλοτέραν τῶν χερουβίμ*—in all probability to the ninth. The final words look like a reference to the well-known stanza (quoted in full in note on l. 22) of which the first line is: *τὴν τιμιωτέραν τῶν χερουβίμ*. This stanza is known as the *εἱρμός* (the typical strophe used as a model for a series) of the *ἀκολουθία τῶν παθῶν* for Good Friday (*Triodion* (Venice, 1748), p. 387), and is ascribed to Cosmas of Majuma, the friend of St. John Damascene. It is, however, often found separated from its context, and was used on many occasions, as a rule without the rest of the canon, e.g. it is occasionally given at the end of the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom (F. E. Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, p. 399; see also Goar, *Euchologion* (Paris, 1647), p. 78, § 141 and, for the Hours at Christmas, *Menaion* (Rome, 1888), pp. 635, 638, 643, &c.). Numerous variations of the text are found; but none of them is identical with the heading of B. Two explanations are possible. Either

[1] Equally striking as a parallel to our texts are some other canons also preserved in the same writer's *Octoechos* (Venice, 1883) and also, almost certainly, earlier hymns which he took over and adapted for his collection; n.b. those for the seventh, eighth, and ninth odes, p. 105 sq.

the scribe of B wrote ὑψηλοτέραν in mistake for τιμιωτέραν, in which case we must infer that Cosmas took as the εἱρμός of his ode an already existing troparion. Alternatively, we may suppose that the version given in B is correct, in which case some stanza very close to that of Cosmas (and which also converted the words of the *Magnificat* to the praise of the Virgin herself) must have served as his model. In either case there is this difference between the two hymns, that while in A the εἱρμός is given in full, in B it is only indicated.

But there is some internal evidence as to the occasion of these hymns. As the nine Biblical Odes were regularly sung at Matins in the Byzantine rite (cf. Simeon of Thessalonica in Migne, *P. G.* 155, 640 c–d), we may assume that our hymns accompanied them on some occasion or other. A further limitation may be possible. The basis of A is the story of the Three Children in the Fiery Furnace; this lends itself to many varieties of allegoric interpretation,[1] but here it is to be noticed that the author, after devoting one stanza to the original subject, passes on to the Crucifixion and the Resurrection, which also form the principal theme of B. Two explanations may be suggested; either the hymns were part of a Sunday canon, since from the earliest times (see *Const. Ap.* viii. 33, 2) Sunday was set aside for the commemoration of the Resurrection;[2] or else, since the Crucifixion as well as the Resurrection is alluded to, they might be part of an Easter canon, either at Matins or at the night service on the Saturday when the Song of the Three Children was always sung. It may be noted that the hymns are definitely monophysite in tone; cf. ll. 6–8 where the language is reminiscent of the phrase added to the Trisagion by Peter the Fuller, ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς (see art. 'Monophysites' in Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, 8, p. 813; also note *ad loc.*).

Ll. 17–19, which follow immediately on A, and l. 34, after B, may be explained as incipits of other hymns, which were perhaps connected in the scribe's mind with A and B, but which for some reason he did not continue. The lines written on the verso at right angles to the rest of the text may be part of a hymn in honour of St. Theodore Stratelates; but I have been unable to identify them. The text is written throughout in a heavy and sloping semi-cursive (not unlike that of Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses*, 48 b), most probably to be assigned to the seventh century, though a later date cannot absolutely be excluded. The writing on the verso runs in the opposite direction to that on the recto, i.e. the sheet was turned upside down before the verso was written; hence the papyrus was not part of a codex but a single sheet, probably used, as was P. Amh. 9, as a choir slip. The lower part of the sheet at least is a palimpsest; on the recto a few Greek letters or figures are visible, on the verso are traces of half obliterated Arabic writing, though not enough to indicate the nature of the text. (The two lines of figures at the bottom of the recto text are in the same ink and hand as the preceding text; their purpose here is obscure.) The hand is generally clear, although the down strokes are so heavy that e.g. αι and η are almost indistinguishable, and there are occasional blots; the orthography, as is perhaps to be expected in a text of this type and of this period, is very slipshod. *Nomina sacra* are regularly contracted, and the contraction marked by a horizontal

[1] For use of it somewhat parallel to that in our text cf. P. Bouriant, 4, 10.

[2] Further, the stanza τὴν τιμιωτέραν κτλ. formed the ὑπόψαλμα of the *Magnificat* at Sunday Matins (see *Typikon* (1888), p. 544). The resemblance of these hymns to the canons from the *Octoechos* already mentioned also suggests that they were intended for the ordinary Sunday rite.

line; two of the forms found in this text deserve notice, $\overline{\iota\nu\eta\nu}$ for (ε)ι(ρη)νην, a contraction which does not appear to have occurred before (see L. Traube, *Nomina Sacra*) and $\overline{\sigma\omega\rho}\iota\alpha\langle\nu\rangle$ for σω(τη)ριαν, also new, although $\overline{\sigma\rho\iota\alpha}$ is found in MSS. of the eighth and ninth centuries (Traube, p. 118). The form $\overline{\iota\eta\varsigma}$ for Ιησους is found not infrequently both in early and late MSS., cf. Traube, pp. 156 sq., and G. Rudberg, *Eranos*, xxxiii, p. 146.

The papyrus was purchased in the Fayûm and so is likely to come from that area; possibly we can define its provenance more exactly. Ll. 36–7 may refer to St. Theodore Stratelates, a popular saint in the Monophysite Church, to whom, as we know from P. Klein. Form. 164, 671, and 702, a church was dedicated in Arsinoë in the sixth and seventh centuries. Hence it is possible that our papyrus was once used as a choir slip in this church.[1]

Recto.

+ συν `θεω´ εις `το´ ευλογ(ειτε) ηχ(ος) πλ(αγιος) α´

δοξα εν υψιστοις θ(ε)ω του εν Βαβυλ(ωνι) εκ
ει οφθεντι ε⟨ν⟩ φλογι κ(αι) εν τη καμινου
τροσισαντι το πυρ ον ι πετες ⊢∫
5 υμνουντ(ες) ελεγον ευλογ(ειτε) τα εργα κ(υριο)υ
δοξα εν υψιστοις θ(ε)ω του εν τω στ(αυ)ρῳ
προσυλωθεντι εν σαρκι· κ(αι) εκουσιους
παθο⟨ν⟩τα δι ημας ον οι παιδες υ⟨μνουν⟩
δοξα εν υψιστοις θ(ε)ω· του τριημερον
10 αναστας εκ τω⟨ν⟩ νεκρων· κ(αι) εν Γαλαι
λεα ωφθεντι μαθηταις· ον οι πε
δες υμνου(ντες) ελεγον ευλογιτε τα εργα κ(υριο)υ
χαιρε θε[ο]{σ}τοκ(ε) αγνη `του Ι(σρα)ηλ´ χερε υς μητ̣ρ̣[α]
πλατιτερα ου(ρα)νον· χαιρε υγιασ
15 τας· επουρανιε θρονε ον οι πε
δες υμνουν(τες) ελεγον ευλογ(ειτε) τα εργα κυριου
επεποθη̣σαν τη⟨ν⟩ σ̣υ̣νηντησιν
την αναστασιν Χ(ριστο)ς Ιη(σου)ς κ̣(αι) α̣γ̣`ιν´ ⟦.⟧ων
κ(αι) προλαβο̣ι̣σα Μαρια ⁊ ∫
20 ρ,ς . . κ̣´ κ̣α̣ι̣ ∫✓ υ̣ι̣ κ´δ´
χ⟦μγ⟧´ ι̣ε κ̣, δ´

Verso.

εις το μεγ(αλυνει) την υψηλωτερα⟨ν⟩ τον χαιροφιν

σε τον στ(αυ)ρουθεντα κ(υριο)ν δια σω(τη)ρια⟨ν⟩
παντων ημων των αν(θρωπ)ων το
25 γενος εν υμνοις μεγαλυνομεν
σε τον ανασταντα εκ τ̣ω̣⟨ν⟩ νεκρων

[1] But see *Addenda and Corrigenda*, p. xvii.

κ(αι) τοις μαθηταις ωφθεντα θ(εο)ν
κ(αι) ⟨ε⟩ι(ρη)νην διδουντα εν υμνοις μεγα
λυνομεν
σε την μακαρια⟨ν⟩ εν γυναιξιν·
κ(αι) ευλογυμενον υπο τον θ(ε)ω
των αν(θρωπ)ων το γενος ⟨εν⟩ υμνοις μεγα
λυνομεν ⁓ [[ ]]
αυτος ηπας κ(υριο)ς″ ενε . .

At right angles to the rest of the text, on the left side:

ενε . τησκη . κ(αι) λα . .
ο εν στρατηλαταις
ενδοξης μαρτης
[[X(ριστο)ς εκ νεκρων εκικερτι]] τριη
μερον απαρχης γεναμενος
τους κεγεννημ
μενοις

2. l. τῷ. 3. l. καμίνῳ. 4. l. δροσίσαντι. οἱ παῖδες. 6. l. τῷ. σf̣ω P, cf. 23. 7. l. προσηλωθέντι. ἑκουσίως. 8. l. παθόντι. 9. l. τῷ. 10. l. ἀναστάντι. 11. l. ὀφθέντι. παῖδες. 12. l. εὐλογεῖτε. 13. l. θεοτόκε. χαῖρε ἧς. 14. l. πλατυτέρα. οὐ(ρα)νῶν. ἡγιάστη (v. note). 15. l. παῖδες. 17. l. συνάντησιν. 18. l. X(ριστο)ῦ Ἰη(σο)ῦ. 22. l. ὑψηλοτέραν τῶν χερουβίμ. 23. l. στ(αυ)ρωθέντα. 27. l. ὀφθέντα. 28. l. διδόντα. 31. l. ηὐλογημένην. τοῦ θ(ε)οῦ. 34. l. εἶπας. 37. l. ἔνδοξος μάρτυς. 38. l. ἐγήγερται. 39. l. ἀπαρχή. 40. τοῖς γεγεννημένοις (see note).

METRICAL TRANSCRIPTION.

(ll. 2–16 and 23–33).

A

Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ
τῷ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι {ἐκεῖ} ὀφθέντι ἐν φλογὶ
καὶ ἐν τῇ καμίνῳ δροσίσαντι τὸ πῦρ
ὃν οἱ παῖδες ὑμνοῦντες ἔλεγον
Εὐλογεῖτε τὰ ἔργα κυρίου.

Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ
τῷ ἐν {τῳ} σταύρῳ προσηλωθέντι ἐν σαρκὶ
καὶ ἑκουσίως παθόντι δι⟨ὰ⟩ ἡμᾶς
ὃν οἱ παῖδες ὑ⟨μνοῦντες ἔλεγον
Εὐλογεῖτε τὰ ἔργα κυρίου⟩.

Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ
τῷ τριήμερον ἀναστάντι ἐκ {τῶ} νεκρῶν
καὶ ἐν Γαλιλαίᾳ ὀφθέντι μαθηταῖς
ὃν οἱ παῖδες ὑμνοῦντες ἔλεγον
Εὐλογεῖτε τὰ ἔργα κυρίου.

Χαῖρε Θεοτόκε ἁγνὴ {τοῦ Ἰσράηλ}
χαῖρε ἧς μήτρα πλατυτέρα οὐρανῶν
χαῖρε ἁγία ἐπουράνιε θρόνε
ὃν οἱ παῖδες ὑμνοῦντες ἔλεγον
Εὐλογεῖτε τὰ ἔργα κυρίου.

B

Σὲ τὸν σταυρωθέντα κύριον
διὰ σωτηρίαν πάντων ἡμῶν
τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ γένος
ἐν ὕμνοις μεγαλύνομεν.

Σὲ τὸν ἀναστάντα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν
καὶ τοῖς μαθηταῖς ὀφθέντα Θεὸν
καὶ εἰρήνην διδόντα
ἐν ὕμνοις μεγαλύνομεν.

Σὲ τὴν μακαρίαν ἐν γυναιξὶν
καὶ ηὐλογημένην ὑπὸ {τὸν} Θεοῦ
τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ γένος
ἐν ὕμνοις μεγαλύνομεν.

ll. 1–19. 'With God's help. For the *Benedicite*, in the first plagal tone.

Glory to God in the highest, to Him that was seen there, in Babylon, in the flame and in the furnace, that quenched the fire, whom the Children praised, saying, 'Bless ye the Lord, ye works of His'.

Glory to God in the highest, to Him who in the flesh was nailed upon the Cross and who of His own will suffered for us, whom the Children praised.

Glory to God in the highest, to Him that after three days rose from the dead and was seen in Galilee of His disciples, whom the Children praise, saying, 'Bless ye the Lord, ye works of His'.

Hail, pure Mother of God, the Holy One of Israel, hail, thou whose womb is greater than the heavens: hail, O sanctified one, O Throne of the heavens, of Him whom the Children praised, saying, 'Bless ye the Lord, ye works of His'.

They have desired the conversation, the resurrection of Jesus Christ . . .'

ll. 22–4. 'For the *Magnificat*. Her who is higher than the Cherubim. . . .

Thee, the Lord who wast crucified for the salvation of us all, we, the race of men, magnify in hymns.

Thee, who didst rise from the dead and wast seen as God of Thy disciples, who givest peace, we magnify in hymns.

Thee, that art blessed among women, whom God hath favoured, we, the race of men, magnify in hymns.

Thyself hast said, Lord . . .'

ll. 36–41. 'Thou, among the Captains the glorious martyr . . . after three days didst become the firstfruits of them that had died.'

1. ἦχος πλ(αγιος) ά: in full (v. Sophocles, *Lexicon*, s.v.) ἦχος πλάγιος τοῦ πρώτου τόνου.

The reference here is to the Song of the Three Children or Eighth Biblical Ode.

4. τροσίσαντι (l. δρ-): the only meanings given in the lexicon are *sprinkle*, *refresh*. Here it must=*extinguish*, an easy extension of the first meaning. Cf. Daniel iii. 50 καὶ ἐποίησε τὸ μέσον τῆς καμίνου ὡσεὶ πνεῦμα δρόσου διασυρίζον, and, for the following words, ibid. 24 ἐν μέσῳ τῆς φλογὸς ὑμνοῦντες τὸν θεὸν καὶ εὐλογοῦντες τὸν κύριον, with v. 1 . . . ἐδόξαζον καὶ εὐλόγουν καὶ ἐξύψουν τὸν θεὸν ἐν τῇ καμίνῳ λέγοντες κτλ.

7. ἑκουσίως παθόντι. Cf. the trope of the Coptic Church for the morning office on Maundy Thursday, printed by Baumstark, *Oriens Christianus*, 3rd Series, iii (1930), p. 75, l. 5 ὁ παθὼν καὶ ἀναστὰς διὰ τὸ γένος ἡμῶν. Baumstark remarks that this trope is not earlier than the seventh or eighth century, i.e. it may be contemporary with our text.

8. At the end of this line there is no mark of abbreviation after the *υ*: it is probable that a whole line has fallen out, i.e. that the scribe intended to write *ὑ|μνοῦν(τες) ἔλεγον κτλ.*

9. Cf. P. Bouriant, 4, 21 (an acrostic hymn): *τριήμερος δ' ἐγερθείς* of Jonah as a type of Christ. I have regarded *τριήμερον* here as adverbial; but perhaps we should emend to *τριημέρῳ*.

13. For the expression at the end of this line, cf. H. A. Daniel, *Codex Liturgicus*, IV, xxxv (Leipzig, 1853), p. 119 (= C. A. Swainson, *The Greek Liturgies* (Cambridge, 1884), p. 295), *τὴν γὰρ σὴν μήτραν θρόνον ἐποίησε καὶ τὴν σὴν γαστέρα πλατυτέραν οὐρανῶν ἀπειργάσατο.*

του I(*σρα*)*ηλ* may have been added above *αγνη* by the scribe owing to a confusion between *ἁγνός* and *ἅγιος* (cf. l. 14); it is evident that he did not understand the metre of the hymns he was copying. *ἁγνὴ τοῦ* 'Ισράηλ does not appear to be otherwise known; and even if it is regarded as a variant on *ἅγιος τοῦ* 'Ισράηλ, the latter would hardly be applied to the Virgin. Probably the words are best deleted.

14. *υγιαστας*. It is not clear what the scribe intended to write here. Possibly he may have had in his mind the *ἡγιασμένε ναέ* which precedes the lines quoted in the note on l. 13; but no such word as *ἁγιαστός* is known to the dictionaries. The metre requires a trisyllabic word, i.e. *ἁγία*; and it is probable that the scribe, misled by the *ῆς* of the preceding line, wrote the genitive for the nominative and then added the definite article.

15. v. note to l. 13 and cf. the translation of the 'Argānona Weddāsē by S. Euringer in *Oriens Christianus*, 3rd Series, III (1930), p. 259, *O Thron der Gottheit.* *ἐπουράνιε* here means rather *of the heavenly one* than *celestial*, as some antecedent to *ὅν* must be understood.

18. I can make no sense either of the end of this line or of l. 19. The mark of abbreviation of the *κ* can be clearly seen, but otherwise the letter resembles an *η* as much as a *κ* and, if the abbreviation stroke were ignored, *ημ̀ιν'* would be the easiest reading. In l. 19 after *προλαβ* comes a dot, which I have taken for an *ο*, followed by a curved stroke which might be a carelessly formed *υ*. If some other explanation could be found for these letters, the closeness of *σα* to *μαρια* would suggest *Σαμαρία*.

19. It is possible that a reference was intended here (*προλαβοῦσα*) to Mary Magdalene's visit to the tomb before that of the other disciples.

22. The allusion here is to the opening words of the *Magnificat* *μεγαλύνει ἡ ψυχή μου τὸν κύριον*; the scribe then started with the initial words of the *εἱρμός*, but did not continue with it. For this cf. the 'Praise of Mary', printed at the end of the *Liturgy of St. Chrysostom* (Brightman, *op. cit.*, p. 399): *τὴν τιμιωτέραν τῶν χερουβὶμ καὶ ἐνδοξοτέραν ἀσυγκρίτως τῶν σεραφίμ, τὴν ἀδιαφθόρως Θεὸν Λόγον τεκοῦσαν, τὴν ὄντως θεοτόκον, σε μεγαλύνομεν.* The refrain of the hymn in the papyrus—*ἐν ὕμνοις μεγαλύνομεν*—is frequently found as the last line of heirmoi and tropes of the ninth ode (Höeg).

23. *στ(αυ)ρωθέντα*: for the contraction cf. Traube, *op. cit.*, p. 119; this particular form is not quoted, but *ε̄σ̄τ̄ω̄θη* is found in the Sinaiticus, as is also *σ̄ος*. There is a close parallel to this line in the *Octoechos*, p. 92 *σὲν τὸν σταυρωθέντα χριστὸν . . . μεγαλύνομεν.* This line has only 9 syllables instead of the 10 demanded by the heirmos and the corresponding lines in the other stanzas: perhaps *ἐσταυρωμένον* should be read.

26. The metre demands that the *τω⟨ν⟩* before *νεκρων* be kept; but *ἐκ νεκρων* is the regular expression which must be read in l. 10 (cf. the metrical transcription), short of eliding the *ι* of *ἀναστανtί*.

34. Perhaps a reference was intended here to John ii. 19–20.

35. I am indebted to Dr. Zuntz for pointing out to me that the reference here must be to St. Theodore of Amasea (variously known as Tyro or Stratelates), who was martyred under Diocletian and was later very popular with the monophysites of Egypt, cf. an article, 'Der Drachenkampf des heiligen Theodor', by W. Hengstenberg in *Oriens Christianus*, ii, pp. 244 sqq.

39. A reminiscence of 1 Cor. xv. 20 *νυνὶ δὲ Χριστὸς ἐγηγέρται ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων.* *Γεγεννημένοις* is clearly a corruption derived from *κεκοιμημένων*.

467. LITURGICAL FRAGMENT.

Acquired in 1917. 15 × 17 cm. Sixth century.

This text, written in a fine sloping uncial of the sixth century, consists of two columns, the first incomplete, on a sheet of parchment. Not much can be missing—at most five lines at the beginning and, allowing for a small margin, not more than two at the bottom of col. i. It seems to be more in the nature of a chant than a prayer, though there is no metrical element present. The stops, accents, &c., are in the first hand; there are the usual theological contractions. Over some vowels a single dot has been written; the purpose both of them and of the marks over *άει* (l. 8) and *ἐλεησον* (l. 11)—too small to be accents by the standard of that over *θεότητι*—is obscure. Below col. ii a few letters written by a second hand in very faded ink can be traced. The text itself is written in a clear brown ink on the hair-side. The verso is blank. Provenance unknown.

Col. i.	Col. ii.
. . . .	*και άει παρθενο[υ]*
[. . . . σ]υναχθητε	*Μαριας· και χορ[ον]*
[πα]ντες οι πιστοι·	*τον ου(ρα)νιον· και*
[ ]ι δοξαζωμενος	*ἐλεήσον ἡμας· κ[α]*
[τ]ης αγιας τριάδος	*τα το μεγα σου ἐλ[ε]*
εν μιαν θεότητ̣[ι]	*ος ·ſ. ναι κ(υρι)ε·*
και ανυμνη[σατε]	— · · · — · · · —
τον παν̣[	
. . . .	(2nd hand) *ᾱν* . . *ας*

3. l. *δοξαζόμενος*. 5. l. *μιᾷ*.

ll. 1–13. 'O come together, all ye faithful (that he may be) glorified in the one godhead of the Holy Trinity and sing hymns unto him that is (?) Saviour of all men, (? son of God) and of Mary ever virgin: and unto the heavenly choir. And have pity on us according to thy great mercy, yea (do so), O Lord.'

1. For the opening cf. the first line of the 'Prayer of Romanus' (quoted by Maas in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 17, p. 310): *Δεῦτε πάντες πιστοὶ προσκυνήσωμεν.* *Δεῦτε* might perhaps be supplied in l. 1 here.

3. At most there is room for two letters: only if the line projects is there space for [*ινα η*]ι.

9. *χορ[ον]* with *ουρανιον* in apposition can be read as the object of *ανυμνη[σατε]* if the reconstruction followed in the translation be adopted: otherwise we might read *χορ[ου] τον ουρανιον* (l. *τῶν οὐρανίων*) and regard both that and *Μαριας* as dependent on a verb such as *δεόμεθα*.

11–13. Cf. Psalm l. 3 *ἐλέησόν με, ὁ Θεός, κατὰ τὸ μέγα ἔλεός σου.*

13. *ναι, κ(υριε)*. These words, somewhat strangely employed here to complete the chant (if chant it is), occur three times in St. John's Gospel, in each case as a protestation, e.g. xxi. 15 (Peter replies to Jesus' question) *Ναί, Κύριε· σὺ οἶδας ὅτι φιλῶ σε.* Here *ἐλέησον* may be understood.

468. LITURGICAL FRAGMENT.

Acquired in 1917. 7 × 8 cm. Sixth century.
PLATE 6.

A fragment of a Coptic MS., probably already torn and discarded before being re-used, with Greek texts in different hands on either side. The Greek runs at right angles to the Coptic and across what was the upper margin of the page; hence it is unlikely that the whole MS., of which this was a page, was rewritten. The hand on the recto (the hair side) is of the bold but regular slanting type usual in this period; that on the verso is cruder and in paler ink. Both texts are clearly religious in character and probably liturgical, though they may have been meant for private use; I have not traced any quotation from Old or New Testament. Punctuation in both texts is by a middle point, followed by a small gap.

(a) Recto.

. . . . . .

] . φο κ(υριο)ς ανεστ̣[. .] . εκ
νεκρων]ν κ(αι) του θανατ[ου] το κρα
τος] . κατηρτησαντα ⁰̲
]τεπ̣κντες οι λαοι· μεταυ
]ι̣αν· επι τυ μνημην
]ρον πανενδοξον·
]δρομον τον καλο(ν) .
]α̣μενοι[.] κ̣(αι) τον ιδω
] . ην κατ̣[α]φρονει
]ν̣ βασι̣λ̣[εια]ν και δει̣
]κ̣α [. . . . . .]αν
] ψ [ ]ησ.

1. κ̅ς̅ P. 2. ϗ P and in 8. 7. καλõ P.

2. The]ν might be the final letter of νέκρων, but it seems likely that the line was a little longer than this.

3. l. καταρτίσαντα.

4. There is no sign of abbreviation above this line and the reading is plain (γι could be read for π). Was π(ροσ)κ(υ)ν(ουν)τες intended?

5. l. τή⟨ν⟩ or perhaps τ⟨ο⟩ῦ = τίνος.

7. The metaphorical use of δρόμος is not uncommon in the Bible, but I have not found it coupled anywhere with κάλος.

(b) Verso.

. . . . . .

] .
] . . [. . . . . .]ι̣ος
] τον [. .] . [.] θ̣ι̣ου σου
]αθλησ[.] . · βασιλε
] . ο̣ . α . πν̣[. . .]νος . αγι

]ọτα ο υπερ του λα
ου]ξοι ες των αγιον
] . ọ τεξε ο σταυροθις
]μων κ(υρι)ε δοξα σοι

7. l. τὸν. 8. l. σταυρωθεὶς. 9. κε P.

9. It is tempting to fill the gap after σταυρωθεις with [υπερ η]μων: but it seems probable that the lines were longer.

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469. EPISTLE AGAINST THE MANICHEES.[1]

Acquired in 1920. Frag. (a) 35·7 × 19·5 cm. Late third century. PLATE 2.

This remarkable text, an elaborate and reasoned attack on the religion of Mani, might be classed either as a document or as a work of literature; in this respect it presents a parallel to St. Paul's letters and (to adopt Dr. Deissmann's distinction) should perhaps be designated an *epistle*. Herein lies, in fact, its interest; we find here information of a kind which we should otherwise get only through a literary source, in the shape of an actual letter. That it was in fact sent and intended for a definite recipient or recipients, there need, I think, be no doubt; the papyrus (which is of double thickness) has been folded, regularly, nine times, and though no part of the address survives, its natural place would have been on the back of the beginning, not the end of the text. Further the hand, though regular and of an official type, is certainly no book-hand, and the orthography (e.g. παλειν in l. 12, ασπασασθαι in l. 40) is characteristic of documents of the period. But as evidence of its semi-literary character we should note that the text has been read over by a *corrector* (see l. 16), that punctuation is regularly found, and that in some cases the rough breathing has been added. But, formal considerations apart, it is obvious that the letter is not an ephemeral composition, as the carefully planned quotations from the N.T. show, but an authoritative, and in a sense, an official document; there is nothing personal either in the body of the document or in the final greeting, and in one place the writer uses the first person plural (l. 35). The style is in part modelled on that of the Pauline letters (cf. the numerous quotations from them), but—as far as we can judge from our text—shows no sign of having been written to a particular person, though no doubt written for a particular occasion, or even to a particular community. The theory that, to my mind, agrees best with the evidence is that this was a general epistle, drawn up in the chancery of the bishop of Alexandria, and circulated by him to the churches in his diocese.

It does not, however, I think, belong to a class of documents two specimens of which are already known to us from the papyri[2]—that is the Festal Letter (ἐπιστολαὶ ἑορταστικαί

[1] I am much indebted to Prof. A. D. Nock and Mr. C. R. C. Allberry for their advice and assistance, particularly for references to the literature of the subject, and to Mr. T. C. Skeat who read over the text with me in its early stages.

[2] BKT. VI, pp. 87 sq. (P. Berol. 10677), ed. Schubart-Schmidt, with a valuable discussion of the subject, between A.D. 690 and 730: and P. Grenf. CXII, A.D. 577 or 672 (the editors of P. Berol. 10677 prefer the later date).

or γράμματα πασχάλια). The nominal intention of these letters was to announce the date of Easter (we know from Eusebius, *H. E.* v. 25, that the Alexandrian and Palestinian churches kept the feast on the same day and exchanged γράμματα relating to it), but at a comparatively early date this letter developed a special type of its own, and was used as an occasion for a homily on some point of morals or theology. Eusebius (*H. E.* vii. 20) attributes the origin of this practice to Dionysius of Alexandria (A.D. 247–265), a collection of whose festal letters was read by Eusebius as a source for his own history. At first sight the theory of a Festal Letter might seem to suit the requirements of our text; these letters were often devoted to pressing church problems of the day, and were meant for circulation in Egypt (the notice of the date still went to other churches, but without the appended homily). The objection to this theory—and it seems to me final—is that the Festal Letters always concluded with communicating the date of Easter, and of this there is no trace in our papyrus. A departure from the norm in such a case is hardly likely, and we must conclude that this letter was sent out on some other occasion.

The text unfortunately gives no hint as to what this occasion was, nor of the general date. The verso is blank, and our sole evidence is the handwriting. This is of a well-known type, regular and official in style, though not as stereotyped as chancery hands, and common near the end of the third century; to this period (approximately A.D. 275–300) I would assign the text. A date in the early fourth century cannot be excluded, but the hand seems to me less formal and more free than fourth-century hands. It bears an obvious resemblance even to a text as early as P. Flor. 254 (A.D. 259), and I should prefer, with due reservations, to assign it to the reign of Diocletian. In looking for an author for our epistle we might reasonably think of one of the bishops between the death of Dionysius (A.D. 265) and the succession of Athanasius[1] to the see of Alexandria in A.D. 326. The bishops of Alexandria in this period were Maximus (265–282), Theonas (282–300), Peter (300–311), and Alexander (311–326). If it be granted then that the letter was written in the later part of the third century and originated in the episcopal chancery, we might assign it to the episcopate of Theonas. One other consideration gives a slight support to this dating. In A.D. 296 (for the date see the references in E. Stein, *Geschichte des Spät-römischen Reiches*, p. 121) Diocletian, in reply to a letter of Julianus, proconsul of Africa, ordered a general persecution of the Manichees; the sect was to be ruthlessly suppressed and its leaders, with their books, to be burnt.[2] Diocletian's persecution was inspired by political and social considerations, particularly by fear (it seems) of Persian influence, and his edict evinces no knowledge of the sect's tenets or practices; but his attitude to these *exsecrandae consuetudines* and *abominandae scripturae* might well have been endorsed by the author of **469**. We may reflect that at the time when this edict was promulgated, the Church was at peace with the Empire (a letter from Theonas to Lucian, a *Cubicularius*, on the duties of a court official is extant), and if Church and State, each from its own point of

[1] If, palaeographical grounds apart, the letter were as late as the time of Athanasius and were written by him, we should expect to find some traces of it in his works.

[2] Text in Haenel, *Corpus Juris Romani Ante-Justiniani*, ii, p. 44. The genuineness of this 'edict' has been doubted, but it is accepted not only by Stein and Seeck, but also by P. Alfaric, *Les Écritures Manichéennes* (Paris, 1918), p. 61. The fact that it shows no detailed knowledge of Manichaeism should count rather in its favour (given the early date) than against it. Whether it actually was an edict or not is irrelevant for this discussion; the important fact is that governmental action was taken at this time in the neighbouring province of Africa.

view, had recently recognized the danger with which the religion of Mani threatened them, we might well expect them to take simultaneous action. Diocletian's edict was addressed to the proconsuls of Africa; but we may be sure that there were Manichaean communities in Egypt before there were any in Africa. The recent discoveries of the Manichaean Coptic papyri at Medinet-Mâdi in the Fayûm have shown us how well established the sect was in middle Egypt in the fourth century, nor is it any longer surprising that one of their earliest opponents should come from Lycopolis.[1] There is, then, nothing improbable in the suggestion that Manichaeism constituted a sufficient danger at the end of the third century in Egypt to merit an attack such as we find in this letter, and in that case the Church may well have made an informal alliance with the State in the prosecution of this campaign; indeed, the requirements of loyalty alone (since Christians were then loyal to the Government) might have secured the opposition of the Church to the new sect. Unfortunately there is no evidence as to the provenance of our text; it is worth recalling that some fragments of Manichaean literature in Syriac, dated not later than the fifth century, have been found at Oxyrhynchus,[2] but if, as there is good reason for thinking, the sect was spread widely throughout Egypt, the existence of a Manichaean community at Oxyrhynchus is not a convincing reason for assigning our papyrus to that site.

Mani died, a prisoner of Bahram I, king of Persia, in A.D. 276;[3] our text is probably the earliest anti-Manichaean document we possess, and evidence of the rapid spread[4] of the new religion (or sect, as perhaps it should be called).[5] The works of other early opponents of Manichaeism—of Serapion of Thmuis, of Alexander of Lycopolis,[6] of Titus of Bostra—and, to a less extent, the *Acta Archelai*, show more interest in the cosmogony and theology of the Manichee than in its practical effects and moral consequences. I cannot find that these writers have been influenced by our text;[7] but that is hardly surprising, for if we are right in thinking this letter is a pastoral charge, questions of morals or practice would naturally take precedence over theological arguments. (It is quite possible that, at the date when this letter was written, very little was known of Mani's system.) The document which in general tone it resembles most (for verbal resemblances see the notes) is another disciplinary document of the Church—that is, the Formula of Abjuration, which converted Manichees had to recite before being admitted to the Byzantine

[1] Cf. C. Schmidt and H. J. Polotsky, *Ein Mani-Fund in Aegypten* (*S.B. Preuss. Akad.*, 1933, pp. 4–90). The authors discuss the history of Manichaeism in Egypt in the light of the new evidence: it appears that Lycopolis (Assiut) was probably the propaganda centre for Egypt of the sect. It seems first to have taken root in the town of Hypsele in the Thebais.

[2] Published by D. S. Margoliouth in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology 2* (1915), pp. 214–16, and re-edited, with a revised text, by F. C. Burkitt in *The Religion of the Manichees*, pp. 114–19: they are now in the Bodleian Library (Syr. d 13 P, 14 P).

[3] This is the date given by W. Henning in *Ztschr. der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 90 (1936), p. 6; for an earlier view see H. H. Schaeder, *Urform und Fortbildungen des Manichäischen System*, p. 71.

[4] See note 1 above. Is the ἔγγραφον referred to in l. 30—presumably a Greek, not Coptic work, as the writer says he is quoting from it—a copy of one of the original works of Mani which about this time, or not much later, were translated into Coptic by Mani's disciple(s) in upper Egypt? Cf. Schmidt-Polotsky, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[5] For this question, v. Burkitt, *op. cit.*, pp. 72 sq.

[6] Schaeder (*op. cit.*, p. 100), following Brinkmann (preface to Teubner ed., p. xiii), thinks he wrote *c.* A.D. 300: but it rests on a general statement—οὐ πάλαι μὲν ἐπεπόλασεν ἡ τούτου καινοτομία κτλ.—which hardly constitutes 'sichere Zeichen' (Schaeder).

[7] It might be thought to have some affinities with the work of Serapion of Thmuis, an Egyptian bishop, who was in close contact with Alexandria: but as R. P. Casey's recent Study of his *Adversus Manichaeos* shows (*Harvard Theological Studies XV*, 1931), Serapion differs from the writer of our epistle in style, vocabulary, kind of attack, and knowledge of Manichaean writers (he does not quote a single Manichaean work); nor are his Biblical quotations the same.

Church (Migne, *P. G.* i, 1461–71). In its present form this document is thought to be not earlier than the sixth century,[1] but in substance it is probably much earlier.

When our text begins in l. 12 (ll. 1–11 are too fragmentary to yield any connected sense) the writer is engaged in refuting, by appeal to the Bible, the teaching of the Manichees on marriage; arguing, apparently, that the Manichees do not distinguish between the divine blessing on marriage and the divine condemnation of fornication and adultery, he cleverly turns the tables on his opponents by reasoning (with the support of Jeremiah iii. 9) that the terms 'fornicators and adulterers' include those who 'worship the creation'. Thus the Manichaean attitude to the material world is condemned as a form of idolatry, and as convincing evidence of the 'madness' of the sect (see note on l. 18) he quotes the *ἀπολογία πρὸς τὸν ἄρτον* (see note on l. 25). This apparently concludes his attack on the specific teaching of the Manichees; but the writer takes the opportunity of warning his readers against the false doctrines and moral depravity of the Manichaean missionaries, particularly of the *ἐκλεκταί*. In the best style of early theological controversy he alludes to their alleged *μυσάγματα* and then passes on to another subject. The epistle ends with an elaborate benediction and farewell consisting of a cento of Pauline phrases ingeniously strung together.

Biblical phrases are preceded by no introductory formula (except perhaps in l. 47) nor are quotation marks inserted in the margin. No doubt a considerable part of the epistle is lost in which the writer may have dealt with theological questions; we must allow for at least one column before col. i, though perhaps not for more, for if the roll were much more than double its present length it would hardly have been folded (there are nine folds in the existing fragment) but sent as a roll. It is unlikely that more than a few lines are missing between col. i and col. ii at the top of the latter; the break in the argument is not considerable, and the papyrus is unlikely to have been very much higher than it is now. Fragment (b) I have been unable to place; in all probability it belongs to col. i, but it does not appear to touch fragment (a) at any point, nor can I fit it in with the initial lines of col. i. Its subject is clearly the divine judgement upon sinners; it may have belonged to the introductory part of the epistle.

The first hand appears to be responsible for the lines of contraction, punctuation, &c., though a *corrector* inserted the *κρινεῖ* of l. 16. The papyrus is light in colour and of good quality; the ink black, or rather grey, as it has been heavily mixed with water. At the foot of col. ii, near the edge (the last line of col. ii corresponds with l. 20 of col. i), a different hand has written in very pale ink and thin characters *αγιοι* (see note to l. 40). Otherwise the bottom of this column and the margin is blank.

Frag. (a).

Col. i.

. . . . . .

[	*c.* 45	letters missing	]δ[.]
[		„	] . τ̣ου
[	*c.* 40	„	]ν και ου κυ̣

[1] v. P. Alfaric, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

[*c.* 40 letters missing]ṭο εσθ οτε
[„]ως υπο
[„]ρ̣εν το κακον
[„ ο]ụ̣ θελοντες
[„]ṣ ζηλος
[„ δ]ηλον ειναι
[„ π]ονηρια
[*c.* 27 „]κ̣[*c.* 12]καλα εποι
[ησαν]· αυτοι παλ̣ειν οι Μανιχ̣[ει]ς κατα
[ψευδονται του γαμου ως ο μη] γαμων καλως ποιει· τον̣ μη γαμουν
[τα κρεισσον ποιειν Παυ]λος λεγει οτι δε ὁ μοιχευων και ὁ πορ
[νευων κακος δηλον εκ τω]ν̣ θειων γραφων: αφ ων μανθανομεν
[οτι τιμιος ο γαμος πορνο]υς δε και μοιχους μεισι κρινει ο θ(εο)ς η δηλον
[εστιν αυτον κατακρινε]ι̣ν και τους την κτισιν σεβαζομενους
[οιπερ . . . . εμοιχευ]σαν το ξυ[λ]ον και τον λι[θ]ον· ου μην
[αλλα κολαζειν τον ποιου]ντα το πονηρον προστασσει: ουτως
[εαν δε ευρεθη ανηρ η γυνη] εν μια των πολεων σου̣ ων κ(υριο)ς ο θ(εο)ς
[διδωσι σοι ος ποιησει το πονηρον ε]ναντι κ(υριο)υ του θ(εο)υ σου· προ-
σκυνων τω
[ηλιω η παντι των εκ του κοσμου β]δελυγμα εστιν κ(υρι)ω τω θ(ε)ω [σ]ọυ
παs ποιων
[ταυτα βδελυγμα εστιν κ(υρι)]ω ṭω θ(ε)ω· και οι Μανιχις δηλονοτι προ̣σκ̣υ̣
[νουσι την κτισιν] εν ταις επαοιδαις βδελυγμα εστιν κ(υρι)ω

Col. ii.

. . . . . .
[. . . . . ουδ]ε εις κλειβα[νον εβαλον αλλ]ọς μοι ηνε̣[γκε ταυτα εγω]
αν̣[α]ι̣[τιω]ṣ εφαγον· οθεν̣ εικοτως εσ[τ]ι̣ν γνωναι οτι πολλης μανι
ας πεπλη[ρ]ωνται οι Μανιχις· και μαλιστα επι και η προς τον αρτον
αυτων απολογια εργον εστιν αν(θρωπ)ου πολλης μανιας πεπληρω
μενου· ταυτα ως προειπον εν συντομω παρεθεμην απο
του παρε[μ]πεσοντος εγγραφου της μανιας των Μανιχεων·
ιν επιτηρωμεν τους εν απαταις και λογοις ψευδεσι εισδυνο̣ν̣
τας εις τας οικιας· και μαλιστα τας λεγομενας παρ αυτοις εκλεκτας
ας εν τιμη εχουσιν δια το δηλονοτι χρηζειν αυτους του απο
της αφεδρου αιματος αυτων εις τα της μανιας αυτων μυσα
γματα· ἀ μη θελομεν λαλουμεν· ου ζητουντες το εαυτων
συμφορον αλλα το των πολλων ινα σωθωσιν· παρασχοι
τοιγαρουν ὁ παναγαθος και παναγιος θ(εο)ς ημων απο παντος
ειδους πονηρου απεχομενων υμων: σωζεσθαι υμων ολοκλη
ρον και το πνευμα και την ψυχην και το σωμα αμεμπτως
εν τη παρουσια του̣ κ(υριο)υ ημων Ι(ησο)υ Χ(ριστο)υ· ασπασασθαι αλλη-
λους

εν αγιω φιληματι· ασπαζονται υμας οι συν εμοι αδελφοι·—
ερρωσθαι υμας εν κ(υρι)ω ευχομαι αγαπητοι καθαρευοντας
απο παντος μολυσμου σαρκος και πνευματος

Frag. (b).

. . . . . .
] . [.]ει . . ι[
]τα αιτια τα[
εξολ]εθρευεσθαι α[μαρτωλους?
]του νομοθε[του
]ηρημενης[
]νη εξολεθ[ρευ
πον]ηριων ταυτ[ων
. . . . . .

5. ὕπο P. 12. l. πάλιν. 16. l. μισεῖ. θς P *et passim*. η i.e. ἡ. 20. κς P *et passim*. 23. l. Μανιχεῖς and in 27. 25. l. κλίβανον (κρ-). 27. l. ἐπεί. 28. ανου P. 30. εγ'γραφου P. 31. ἵν P. 32. αυτοις, υ corr. from λ. ἐκλεκ'τας P. 36. ἵνα P. 37. ο παναγαθος P. 38. ὕμων P and in 41, 42. 40. Ιυ Χυ P. l. ἀσπάσασθε.

12–43. 'Again the Manichees speak falsely against marriage saying that he does well who does not marry. Paul says that the man who does not marry does better; but that the adulterer and fornicator are evil is manifest from the Holy Scriptures, from which we learn that *marriage is honoured* by God, but that *He abominates fornicators and adulterers.* Whereby it is manifest that He condemns them also that worship the creation who . . . *have committed adultery with stocks and stones.* Not but what God commandeth us to chastise the man that doeth evil: in these words *If there be found man or woman in one of the cities which the Lord thy God giveth thee that has wrought wickedness in the sight of the Lord thy God and hath worshipped the sun or any of the host of heaven, it is an abominatian unto the Lord thy God. Every one that doth these things is an abomination unto the Lord thy God.* And the Manichees manifestly worship the creation (? and that which they say) in their psalms is an abomination to the Lord . . . (saying) "Neither have I cast it (sc. the bread) into the oven: another hath brought me this and I have eaten it without guilt". Whence we can easily conclude that the Manichaeans are filled with much madness; especially since this "Apology to the Bread" is the work of a man filled with much madness. As I said before, I have cited this in brief from the document of the madness of the Manichaeans that fell into my hands, that we may be on our guard against these who with deceitful and lying words steal into our houses, and particularly against those women whom they call "elect" and whom they hold in honour, manifestly because they require their menstrual blood for the abominations of their madness. We speak what we would not, *seeking not our own profit, but the profit of many that they may be saved.* May therefore our God, the all good and the all holy, grant *that you may abstain from all appearance of evil* and that *your whole spirit and soul and body be preserved blameless in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ. Greet one another with a holy kiss.* The brethren with me greet you. I pray that you may be well in the Lord, beloved, *cleansing yourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit.*'

8. ζηλος: probably used in a bad sense as in 1 Clem. 3 ζῆλος καὶ φθόνος (cf. also Cyprian, *de zelo et livore*).

13. The sense of this passage is plain, although the supplement is open to doubt. The dictionaries quote no example of καταψεύδεσθαι with the double construction (genitive followed by ὡς); it is, however, found with κατηγορεῖν which might perhaps be read here. To leave out του γαμου would leave the line short: perhaps ως πας ο μη might be read. For a similar attack on the Manichaean attitude to marriage v. the Formula of Abjuration, Migne, *P.G.* 1. 1465 ἀναθεματίζω τοὺς τὴν παρὰ φύσιν ἀσχημοσύνην κατεργαζομένους, οὐ μόνον ἄνδρας ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖκας, τὸν δὲ γάμον ἀποβαλλομένους, καὶ τῆς νενομισμένης πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας συνουσίας ἀπεχομένους, ἵνα μὴ παιδοποιήσωσι, φασί, καὶ ψυχὰς εἰς τὸν βόρβορον τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ψυχῶν καταγάγωσιν.

14. Cf. 1 Cor. vii. 1 sqq. For *κρεισσον* cf. v. 9 *κρεῖττον γάρ ἐστιν γαμεῖν ἢ πυροῦσθαι.*

15. A stronger word than *κακός* seems to be demanded by the tone of the passage: *κατάρατος*, otherwise suitable, would make the line rather long.

16. Cf. Hebrews xiii. 4 *τίμιος ὁ γάμος ἐν πᾶσι, καὶ ἡ κοίτη ἀμίαντος· πόρνους γὰρ καὶ μοιχοὺς κρινεῖ ὁ Θεός.* δέ instead of *γάρ* after *πόρνους* has some MSS. authority and the sentence is frequently quoted (e.g. by Clement and Eusebius) in this form; it is probably found here because it suits the writer's argument better than *γάρ*. For the variant *μισεῖ* there is no authority. The use of this verse in the present context may perhaps support the view that it is a declaration (i.e. supply *ἐστίν*) rather than a precept.

17. Cf. Rom. i. 25 *οἵτινες μετήλλαξαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν τῷ ψεύδει, καὶ ἐσεβάσθησαν καὶ ἐλάτρευσαν τῇ κτίσει παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα.*

18. The quotation is from Jer. iii. 9 (cf. ii. 27). In their own place the words refer to the worship of idols; the writer of this epistle ingeniously employs them to bridge the transition between his attack on Manichaean views on marriage and that on their attitude to the material universe. This attitude was determined by the Manichaean belief that among the elements of Darkness which largely compose the world, particles of the Divine Substance, i.e. the Light, are intermingled: consequently the devout Manichee, although holding that the world, on the whole, was evil, had to guard against injuring any of the particles of the Light; hence his respect not only for all living creatures but for vegetable life also (see F. C. Burkitt, *The Religion of the Manichees* (Cambridge, 1924), pp. 16 sqq., and note to ll. 25 sq.). In its extreme form this involved the view that whoever ate bread, himself became bread, and whoever killed a mouse, became himself a mouse (*Acta Archelai*, ed. C. H. Beeson, p. 16). Cf. also the passage from Albiruni, *Chronology*, p. 190, 16, quoted by Holl in his note to Epiphanius, *Panarion* 66, p. 65, 14 sq.: *He absolutely forbade his followers . . . to hurt the fire, water, and plants*, and Faustus (as quoted by Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, xx. 2): *quapropter et nobis circa universa et vobis similiter erga panem et calicem par religio est.*[1]

There is a passage in the Formula of Abjuration which converted Manichees had to recite before entering, or re-entering, the Church closely parallel to the present text (printed among the *opera dubia* of Clement of Rome, Migne, *P. G.* 1. 1465): *ἀναθεματίζω τοὺς τὸν Χρίστον λέγοντας εἶναι τὸν ἥλιον καὶ εὐχομένους τῷ ἡλίῳ, ἢ τῇ σελήνῃ, ἢ τοῖς ἄστροις, καὶ ὅλως αὐτοῖς ὡς θεοῖς προσέχοντας καὶ φανοτάτους θεοὺς ἀποκαλοῦντας.*

20 sq. These lines are a free adaptation of Deut. xvii. 2–3 *ἐὰν δὲ εὑρεθῇ ἐν μιᾷ τῶν πόλεών σου, ὧν κύριος ὁ Θεός σου δίδωσί σοι, ἀνὴρ ἢ γυνὴ ὃς ποίησει τὸ πονηρὸν ἐναντίον κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ σου, παρελθεῖν τὴν διαθήκην αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐλθόντες λατρεύσωσι θεοῖς ἑτέροις καὶ προσκυνήσωσιν αὐτοῖς, τῷ ἡλίῳ ἢ τῇ σελήνῃ ἢ πάντι τῶν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.* . . . The reconstruction here is, of course, doubtful, but there is no room for *ἀνὴρ ἢ γυνή* in l. 21.

22. *βδελυγμα* κτλ., cf. Deut. vii. 25, xvii. 1.

πας ποιων κτλ., cf. Deut. xviii. 12.

24. Although the general sense of this passage is plain, no supplement consistent with the length of the line has suggested itself to me; *επει ο λεγουσιν* (or *ᾳδουσιν*) would be too long. *επαοιδαι*: most probably a reference to the Manichaean hymns (among the Manichaean papyri recently found in Egypt is a book of Psalms, see Schmidt–Polotsky, *op. cit.* pp. 31 sq.), although the writer may well have had in mind the *ἐπαειδὼν ἐπαοιδήν* of Deut. xviii. 11, cf. Migne, *P. G.* 1. 1468 *ἀναθεματίζω καὶ καταθεματίζω πάντας τοὺς* Μανιχαίους, *καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτῶν βίβλον καὶ πᾶσαν εὐχήν, μᾶλλον δὲ γοητείαν.*

25 sq. At this point the author of this epistle quotes in an abbreviated form (v. l. 29) the formula recited by the Manichaean elect before they ate the bread provided for them by the Hearers and which they regarded as sacramental (Burkitt, p. 83). This was already known to us from the third century *Acta Archelai*, both in the Latin translation (Hegemonius, *Acta Archelai*, ed. C. H. Beeson, *Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*, Bd. 16, Leipzig 1906, p. 16) and from the Greek of Epiphanius, *Panarion*, 66, (ed. K. Holl, *Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller*, Bd. 37, Leipzig 1931, p. 65, 4 sq.): the relevant passage in the Greek reads as follows: *καὶ ὅταν μέλλωσιν ἐσθίειν ἄρτον, προσεύχονται πρῶτον, οὕτω λέγοντες πρὸς τὸν ἄρτον, οὔτε σε ἐγὼ ἐθέρισα οὔτε ἤλεσα, οὔτε ἔθλιψά σε, οὔτε εἰς κλίβανον ἔβαλον· ἀλλὰ ἄλλος ἐποίησε ταῦτα καὶ ἤνεγκέ μοι· ἐγὼ ἀναιτίως ἔφαγον.* The name for this formula *απολογια προς τον αρτον* appears to be new. The reason for this *apologia* was of course the belief that sowing and reaping and even the breaking of bread involved, no less than the taking of life, injury to the particles of the Light imprisoned in matter (Burkitt,

[1] Cf. also the letter *ad Iustinum Monachum I* ascribed to Marius Victorinus (Migne, *P. L.* 8, 999): *caroque haec nostra quam abditis cum herbis et graminibus quae diligitis*, and again, *quod carnem oderis et gramina veneraris.*

p. 23). This practice (cf. the passages quoted from Cyril of Jerusalem and Titus of Bostra by Holl, *op. cit.*, p. 65) involved cursing those who had been responsible for the making and baking of the bread: *εἶτα δεξάμενος εἰς χεῖρας τὸν ἄρτον (ὡς οἱ ἐξ αὐτῶν μετανοήσαντες ἐξωμολογήσαντο), ἐγώ σε οὐκ ἐποίησα, φησὶν ὁ Μανιχαῖος τῷ ἄρτῳ καὶ κατάρας πέμπει εἰς τὸν ὕψιστον καὶ καταρᾶται τὸν πεποιηκότα καὶ οὕτως ἐσθίει . . . ἐγώ σε πυρὶ οὐκ ὤπτησα· ὀπτηθείη ὁ ὀπτήσας σε* (Cyril of Jerusalem, vi. 32). Cf. also the Formula of Abjuration, Migne, *P. G.* 1, 1465 *ἀναθεματίζω τοὺς βρωμάτων ἀπέχεσθαι προστάττοντας ἃ ὁ θεὸς ἔκτισεν εἰς μεταλῆψιν.*

26. *μανιας*: the pun on the name of Mani was too obvious to be avoided, but *μανία* is in any case the regular term for 'heresy', see Sophocles, Lexicon, s.v.: cf. Serapion of Thmuis, *Adversus Manichaeos* (Migne *P. G.* 40, 903) . . . *ἡ τοῦ Μανιχαίου προῆλθε μανία.*

30. Unfortunately there is nothing to show from what Manichaean treatise the writer was quoting: it must have been an early one, possibly a work of Mani himself, and perhaps contained besides the formula here quoted, no doubt accompanied with regulations for the life of the devout Manichee, the *ἐπαοιδαί* mentioned in l. 24.

Liddell and Scott cite no instance of *ἔγγραφον* = *document, treatise* in the singular; but *ἔγγραφα* is quoted from OGI. 335. 137.

31. Cf. Alexander of Lycopolis (Teubner ed.) 8, 14 *ὅπου γε καί τινας . . . μετέστησεν ἡ τοιαύτη ἀπάτη τῶν λόγων.*

32. The Manichaean 'elect' included women as well as men, also known as the *παρθένοι* (cf. Burkitt, *op. cit.*, pp. 45, 46, and, for a further note on the organization of their encratite societies, *Journal of Theological Studies*, xxxv (1934), p. 360). It is perhaps worth noting that *ἐκλεκτή* occurs in the New Testament in 2 John 1 and 13 *ἀσπάζεταί σε τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἀδελφῆς σου τῆς ἐκλεκτῆς*, cf. also an inscription published by F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le Manichéisme*, iii, p. 177 *Βάσσα παρθένος Λυδία Μανιχέα.* They were also named in the Formula of Abjuration (Migne, *P. G.* 1, 1468) *ἐπισκόπους, πρεσβυτέρους, ἐκλεκτοὺς καὶ ἐκλεκτάς.*

In view of what follows in our text it is worth while noting the testimonial to the morals of the Manichaean 'elect' given by St. Augustine (Burkitt, p. 46, note 2) who, since he had had personal experience of their practices, was probably better informed than the writer of this letter; another comparatively early writer, St. Ephraim, accuses them of nothing more than idleness (Burkitt, p. 45).

34–5. *του της αφεδρου αιματος.* For the ritual and magical use of menstrual blood cf. H. J. Rose's note on Martial, Epigr. iv. 64, 16 in *Classical Review*, xxxviii (1924), p. 64. For its use in magic and charms see P. Oslo 1, 323 with Eitrem's note *ad. loc.* From the connexion with magic probably came the (alleged) use of it attributed to some heretical sects. This may be compared with the magical powers attributed to virginity (see E. Fehrle, *Die Kultische Keuschheit im Altertum* (Giessen, 1910), *passim*, and A. D. Nock in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 23 (1925), pp. 25 sq.). There appears to be no other evidence attributing such practices (doubtless without foundation) to the Manichees. The source of the attribution of this practice to the Manichaeans may perhaps be found in Migne, *P. G.* 1, 1465 *ἀναθεματίζω τοὺς τοῖς οἰκείοις οὔροις ἑαυτοὺς μιαίνοντας, καὶ μὴ ἀνεχομένους τὰς ῥυπαρίας αὐτῶν ὕδατι ἀποπλύνειν, ἵνα μὴ μολυνθῇ, φασί, τὸ ὕδωρ.* Failure to comply with (or rather a deliberate denial of) the regulations of Deut. xv. may have given handle to the kind of attack we find here.

A similar practice is attributed to a Gnostic sect in *Pistis Sophia* 147 (389) (see C. Schmidt's introduction to his translation, p. lxxii), from which the author of that work vehemently disassociates himself. Probably Epiphanius (*Pan.* 26, p. 284) is referring to the same sect.

34. *μυσαγματα*: Liddell and Scott quote only one instance of this noun, from Aeschylus, *Supplices* 995. *μυσάζω*, however, = *μυσάττομαι*, is cited from Aquila's version of 1 Kings (xxv. 26), and *μυσάττομαι* (though not found in Sophocles' Lexicon) is used by Christian writers, e.g. John of Damascus, *Passion of St. Artemius* (Migne, *P. G.* 96, 1292 B) *ταῦτα . . . τὰ ἀνοσιουργήματα μυσαχθέντες οἱ θεοί*, and in the Formula of Abjuration, *op. cit.*, 1, 1469 *ἀνάθεμα . . . μυσαττομένοις τὸ βάπτισμα.*

35. *οὐ ζητοῦντες κτλ.*: adapted from 1 Cor. x. 33 *μὴ ζητῶν τὸ ἐμαυτοῦ σύμφορον, κτλ.* It may be noticed that the papyrus reads *σύμφορον* (with ℵ*ABC), not *συμφέρον* (ℵ³DEFGKLP), the more common word.

36. *παρασχοι*: *παρέχειν* = *to allow to*, with the infinitive, occurs, though rarely, in Classical Greek; the nearest parallel to the present ('grant that') appears to be a Christian letter of the fourth century, P. Oxy. 1682, 6 *ἡ μὲν τοῦ Θεοῦ πρόνοια παρέξει τὸ μετὰ ὁλοκληρίας σε τὰ οἰκεῖα ἀπολαβεῖν* (quoted by Moulton and Milligan, *Vocabulary of the Greek N.T.*, s.v.). There is no instance of its use with the infinitive in the N.T.

37. *τοιγαρουν*: in Classical Greek generally stands first in the sentence (the only exceptions given by

J. D. Denniston, *Greek Particles*, are in Hippocrates and Lucian), as always in the N.T.; Moulton and Milligan give examples of its use in the second place from the papyri.

The scribe began to draw a line over *πανάγιος*, on the analogy of the *nomina sacra*.

απο παντος ειδους κτλ. = 1 Thess. v. 22 *ἀπὸ παντὸς εἴδους πονηροῦ ἀπέχεσθε* (variously translated as 'from every appearance of evil' and 'from every kind of evil').

38. *ολοκληρον κτλ.* = 1 Thess. v. 23, with *σώζεσθαι* inserted at the beginning instead of *τηρηθείη* at the end, and with *τὴν ψυχήν* for *ἡ ψυχή*: also in 1 Thess. v. 23 *ὑμῶν* comes immediately after *ὁλόκληρον*. F. E. Brightman (*Journal of Theological Studies*, ii, p. 273) points out that this trichotomy (instead of the dichotomy found elsewhere in the Pauline letters) has its parallel in Egyptian rites, where the order, however, is always *ψυχή σῶμα, πνεῦμα*.

40. Cf. 2 Cor. xiii. 12, 13 *ἀσπάσασθε ἀλλήλους ἐν ἁγίῳ φιλήματι·* (= Rom. xvi. 16) *ἀσπάζονταί ὑμᾶς οἱ ἅγιοι πάντες*. The *αγιοι* added in a second hand at the foot of this column may be a reference to this passage.

41. Cf. Tit. iii. 15 *ἀσπάζονταί σε οἱ μετ' ἐμοῦ πάντες*, but the phrase is so common that we need not suppose the writer of this letter had any one passage in mind.

43. Cf. 2 Cor. vii. 1 *καθαρίσωμεν ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος*. *καθαρεύειν* is not found in the N.T.

46. Perhaps a quotation from Ps. xxxvi. 34.

470. CHRISTIAN PRAYER.

Aquired in 1917. 18 × 9·4 cm. ? Fourth century. PLATE 1.

This prayer, written in brown ink on a small sheet of papyrus (the verso is blank), is probably a private copy; there are no indications that it was intended for liturgical use. The hand, tall, upright, and pointed, with small blobs at the top and bottom of vertical strokes, is of a peculiar type to which I know no exact parallel. The *α* is of a kind more common in inscriptions than in papyri, and Dr. Bell suggests that the peculiarity of the script might be explained on the ground that it was a model for an engraver.

Mr. Lobel has pointed out to me that the hand resembles somewhat that of the letter of Subatianus Aquila (Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses*, 35; cf. id. *Palaeographie*, p. 73) with its large and narrow characters; the *ο*, *ι*, and to a less extent the *ε*, are similar in both texts, but the peculiar ☆ found in **470** is missing in the other, which on the whole is less decorative. Lobel would be unwilling to place **470** later than the third century. But such individual hands are hard to date, and it is almost incredible that a prayer addressed directly to the Virgin in these terms could be written in the third century. The Virgin was spoken of as *θεοτόκος* by Athanasius; but there is no evidence even for private prayer addressed to her (cf. Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxiv. 11) before the latter part of the fourth century, and I find it difficult to think that our text was written earlier than that (cf. art. 'Mary' in Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*).

. πο . [ ]
ενσπλα[γχνὲ παρθενε ?]
κατ̣ αφε[σιν αμαρτιων ?]

θεοτοκε : τα[ς εμας ?]
ικεσιας : μη παρ-
ειδης εμ περιστασει
αλλ εκ κινδυνου
ρυσαι ημας″
μονη δε̣[
ηρυλο̣ν [

5. l. παρίδῃς. 6. l. ἐν.

4–9. 'Mother of God (hear) my supplications: suffer us not (to be) in adversity, but deliver us from danger. Thou alone . . .'

1–3. Dr. G. Zuntz, to whom I owe the supplement in l. 2, suggested that α̣ποδ̣[οσιν δος] might be read here; but the traces do not resemble an α; in l. 2, less probably, some form of πλάνη might be recognized. και for κατ̣ cannot be read.

6. περιστασει: not Biblical in this sense, but common in later Greek, v. Sophocles' Lexicon, s.v.

7. Cf. the liturgical fragment from Dêr-Belyzeh, printed by Wessely in *Les Plus Anciens Monuments du Christianisme* ii, *Patrologia Orientalis* xviii, p. 424, I recto, ll. 11–12:

ἀλλ[ὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀ]
πὸ παντὸς κινδύνου.

471. CHRISTIAN AMULET.

Acquired in 1920. 14·3 × 8·6 cm. Fifth century.

It is fairly clear that this brief prayer, written across the fibres of a small piece of papyrus in a large cursive hand, was used as an amulet; the papyrus was twice folded so that it could easily be worn or carried on the person, and although it differs from most amulets in being less specific and personal (for a discussion of the types of amulets, cf. Wessely, *Patrologia Orientalis*, xviii, pp. 399 sqq.), the language leaves little doubt of the purpose for which it was intended.

+ Αγιο̣ν ελεον αγαλλ[ι]ασεως
κατα πασης αντικειμενης
ενεργιας και προς εγκεντρισμον
της καλλι̣ελεαυ σου καθολικη⟨ς⟩
κ(αι) ἀποστολικη⟨ς⟩ εκκλησια⟨ς⟩ εφ̣τε
αμην +

1. l. ἔλαιον. 3. l. ἐνεργείας. 4. l. καλλιελαίου.

'The holy oil of gladness against every adverse Power and for the grafting of Thy good olive tree of the catholic and apostolic Church. . . . Amen.'

1. Cf. Psalm xliv (xlv). 8: Heb. i. 9.

2. αντικειμενη ενεργεια. Cf. the phrase in the Sacramentary of Serapion of Thmuis (F. E. Brightman in *J.T.S.* 1, p. 264, l. 28), κατανικῆσαι λοιπὸν τὰς προσβαλλούσας αὐτοῖς ἀντικειμένας ἐνεργείας.

3–4. A reminiscence of Romans xi. 17–24, cf. especially 24 *εἰ γὰρ σὺ ἐκ τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἐξεκόπης ἀγριελαίου καὶ παρὰ φύσιν ἐνεκεντρίσθης εἰς καλλιέλαιον.* The prayer is, then, one for the extension of the Church by the grafting of the Gentiles (*ἀγριέλαιος*) onto the good olive tree (*καλλιέλαιος*) of the Church.

καλλιελαιος. The word first occurs in literature in the passage of the Romans cited above: but *καλλιέλαιος ἐλαία* is found in P. Cairo Zen. 125. 3, *καλλιελαία*, and in a collection of Jewish-Christian sayings of the third or fourth century published by O. Plasberg (*Strassburger Anekdota, A.P.F.*, ii, p. 219), who discusses the use of *καλλιέλαιος* by the Fathers.

5. I can find no explanation of the letters at the end of this line: the only one about which there can be any doubt is the *φ* (and that is a very likely reading): if *ι* be read it is difficult to interpret the preceding stroke. *εσιτε* = *ἔσται* is barely possible.

II. LATIN TEXTS

472. LATIN LITURGICAL FRAGMENT.[1]

Acquired in 1917. 15·6 × 18·7 cm. Third to fourth century. PLATE 3.

This text, written on both sides of a leaf—the final leaf—from a papyrus codex, presents peculiar difficulties. It is unique of its kind, for among the numerous Christian papyri from Egypt only three Latin fragments are known,[2] all of them biblical, all of them considerably later than our text; and the majority of the Greek liturgical papyri belong to a much later age.[3] Further, outside the world of the papyri there are hardly any Latin liturgical texts with which **472** can be compared and from which it can be elucidated; apart from the Latin text of the so-called *Egyptian Church Order*[4] (ed. E. Hauler, *Didascaliae Apostolorum Fragmenta*) our knowledge of the wording of the Latin liturgy before the sixth century is slight. The difficulty is enhanced by the forced and abrupt style and somewhat exotic vocabulary in which the text is written; the first twenty-two lines appear to consist, for the most part, of nouns and adjectives almost unrelated by verbs, and the writer passes from subject to subject with great rapidity. It would be easier if we could assume that much of the text was missing at the beginning of each line; but not only are the last three lines of the verso practically complete as they stand, but to assume that the lines were longer would involve the breadth of the book being greater than the height, and among the numerous fragments of codices recovered from Egypt there is no certain example of this.[5] As it is, the codex was nearly square; a page, with the lines restored on the analogy of ll. 20–22, and allowing for an inner margin equal in width to the outer, would have measured *c.* 18 cm. in breadth, while in height the papyrus measures 18·7 cm. In view of the absence of parallels and of the inherent difficulty of the text, all supplements, except the most obvious, have been reserved for the notes.

That the text is Christian may be regarded as certain, and that it is part of a liturgical codex there can be little doubt. Both form and content make against the view that it is a private composition; such texts (to judge from the Greek examples from Egypt) are generally crude both in script and orthography, and on single sheets of parchment or papyrus,

[1] For helpful suggestions and discussions, and not least for references on this text, I have to thank Dom André Wilmart, O.S.B., the Rev. S. L. Greenslade, and the Rev. E. C. Ratcliff.

[2] These are recorded by Schubart in his list of Biblical papyri, *Einführung*, pp. 473–4: there is now a plate and description of the Aberdeen St. John in E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, ii. no. 118.

[3] An exception is P. Würz. 3 (third century): see also P. Lond. Christ. 4 (fourth–fifth century).

[4] For discussion of this and cognate works see R. H. Connolly, *The So-Called Egyptian Church Order* (Texts and Studies, viii. 4).

[5] A probable exception, which, if it is one, would prove the rule, is **53**; here the peculiar format is explained by the requirements of a school text-book.

while not only is the general appearance of **472** that of a well written manuscript, but the *subscriptio* on the recto makes it clear that it is a leaf from a codex. The language, also, suggests a public rather than a private occasion. But to assign it to a definite place in the liturgy is not so easy; nor is this in itself surprising. For example, P. Lond. Christ. 4, of the fourth or fifth century, is related only very slightly to extant liturgies; and, more important, it is known that at this period liturgical prayers did not follow fixed forms, and African bishops may well have enjoyed some degree of freedom in the composition of their masses.[1] That the text formed a part of the Eucharistic Anaphora is improbable, although the use of *manducare* in l. 3, which has eucharistic associations, and the concluding part of the text with the prayer for the breaking of bonds (?) and for illumination, resembling that found in the eucharistic prayer of the *Egyptian Church Order*,[2] might favour this hypothesis. But the text as a whole supports Dom Wilmart's view that it contained formulae for the blessing of the new fruits (or possibly exorcisms for the same occasion), followed by a prayer for those who offered or received the fruits. (The concluding prayer, however, seems to be more general: see note to l. 33.) He would compare it with the prayer, probably of the early third century, for the same occasion preserved in *The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus* (Hauler, p. 115), which is perhaps worth quoting in full:

Gratias tibi agimus, Deus, et offerimus tibi primitivas fructuum, quos dedisti nobis ad percipiendum, per verbum tuum enutriens ea, jubens terrae omnes fructus adferre ad laetitiam et nutrimentum hominum et omnibus animalibus. Super his omnibus laudamus te, Deus, et in omnibus quibus nos juvasti, adornans nobis omnem creaturam variis fructibus per puerum tuum Jesum Christum dominum nostrum, per quem tibi gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

This is far simpler both in thought and expression, and lacks the theological overtones of our text; but that the prayers should be much elaborated is, so Dom Wilmart writes, precisely the foreseen case for the third or early fourth century. One other short passage—a prayer at the offering of cheese and olives—is worth quoting as it approximates more nearly to the style of our text (Hauler, *op. cit.*, p. 108): *Fac a tua dulcitudine non recedere fructum etiam hunc olivae qui est exemplum tuae pinguidinis, quam de ligno fluisti* [sic: *?fudisti*] *in vitam eis qui sperant in te.* It is perhaps best to conclude that some such prayer as that quoted above formed the basis of our text, but that it has been elaborated in a manner and for a purpose which it is not easy to understand.[3] The one clear allusion in the papyrus, that to the *Saeculum Octavum* which we know as a periphrasis for the millennium (see note to l. 29), is not very illuminating, since the fact that the same idea is found in St. Augustine is hardly sufficient to indicate an African origin for our text.

One of the peculiarities of the text is that there appears to be no quotation nor even any certain recollection of any biblical passage.[4] That the language should not resemble that of the Vulgate is not perhaps surprising, since **472** is probably considerably earlier; but I have been able to find few, if any, convincing parallels to the vocabulary of our text in the

[1] On local diversities of liturgical use, cf. L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship* (trans. McClure), pp. 54 and 86.

[2] Connolly, *op. cit.*, p. 107, note 1, who quotes from Hauler, *op. cit.*, pp. 106–7: *ut mortem solvat et vincula diaboli dirumpat et infernum calcet et justos inluminet*, with which ll. 25–6 and 35–6 should be compared.

[3] Mr. Ratcliff points out that the *dies faboris* of l. 11 might be an allusion to the Christian Sunday; this, if correct, taken with the offering of the fruits, would suggest that **472** was a prayer to be said on Sunday.

[4] See note to l. 28.

works of early Christian Latin writers. But it may be regarded as fairly certain that our text is not an original Latin work; there are several indications that it is based on a Greek original—the use of *puer* to translate παῖς, where we should expect to find *filius*, the spelling of *euaggelium* (though this might mean no more than that the scribe was more accustomed to Greek), perhaps, too, the use of *hilara imago*, and above all the expression *pater nostri*. A search in the *Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica* has not revealed a single other instance of this expression and, as it occurs twice, in l. 7 and l. 22, it can hardly be a scribal error; the only explanation open to us seems to be that it is a literal translation of πατὲρ ἡμῶν. Perhaps those whose knowledge of Greek Christian literature is better than the writer's will be able to throw some light on the source of this text.

The date assigned to this papyrus rests solely on palaeographical evidence. The text is written in a careful and regular hand, which, though it contains a large proportion of cursive and 'mixed' letters, is clearly in its general effect a literary and not a documentary hand. With seven letters (*a*, *e*, *f*, *p*, *t*, *u*, and *x*) the uncial form is used, *c* and *q* are of the mixed type, and the rest are cursive, although side by side with the cursive forms of *h* (h) and *n* (n) the capital forms (H) and (N) are also found. (Both forms of *n* can be seen in l. 3 in the plate.) *o* is of the very small cursive type, and the *g* resembles the Greek numeral ϛ. In this text the formation of the later uncial hand can be observed. The closest parallel to this hand, both in general appearance and in the forms of some of the letters, is the Oxyrhynchus Epitome of Livy,[1] and to this text an approximate *terminus ante quem* can be assigned. On the verso of the Livy Epitome is written the Epistle to the Hebrews (P. Oxy. 657), in a hand which the editors say may well go back to the first quarter of the fourth century: not only were the documents found with this papyrus of the third century, but so were also the cursive documents with which the verso was patched before it was used for the Epistle to the Hebrews. There is, then, a very strong presumption that the Livy Epitome was written near the end of the third century.[2] Although the Livy Epitome has only five cursive forms as against ten in **472** (in itself by no means an indication of late date), the general resemblance is such as to allow us to assume that the two MSS. are not separated by any long period. Consequently, a date in the later third or early fourth century is indicated for our text. The orthography on the whole is good, though an unnecessary *i* has been added to *magnificentia* in l. 22, and the difficulty of the language tempts one to assume occasional scribal errors (see note to l. 14); as is normal, *b* often usurps the place of *v*. The only case of ligature is *li* in l. 2 and l. 40. There are no contractions or abbreviations except *-ē* at the end of l. 2 (see note), and punctuation is only found once in l. 6; elsewhere a short space is left at the end of the sentence. As the leaf is the final one of the codex, we might hope to find the title of the work; but the space below *explicitus* has been left blank; numeration also is absent. Unfortunately there is no evidence as to the provenance of the papyrus.

Verso.

[. . . . .]entia nostra dulcissi
[ma . . . . .]rabilis gloria fruges ṿivē

[1] P. Oxy. 668 = Milne, P. Lit. Lond. 120: plate and description now in E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, ii. no. 208.

[2] 'The Livy Epitome must therefore have been written not later than the fourth century, and it more probably belongs to the third' (P. Oxy. 668, introd.): see also P. Oxy. 1379, introd.

[tes . . . . . .]e manducantes qui g[e]ne
[. . . . . .]es prudentiae victus
[. . . . . .]o̩fius hilara imag̣o̩ ḅe
[. . . . . .] frementum. v̩ivens
[. . . . . .]rietate pater n[o]s̩tri
[. . . . . .]qui vincendum propri
[. . . . . .] . e̩m imago missio̩ [p]rinci
[. . . . . .] . t̩ qui s̩ui facies sanct̩[. .] . ul[.]s̩
[. . . . .]anol̩uuo̩r̩ dies faboris [o]b̩[la]t̩io
[. . . . . .]tium aq̣uarum haust̩u̩[. .] cen[.]
[. . . . e]vaggelium vitae spes et̩ [. .]lesir̩
[. . . . .]n̩us sancta virginis pat̩er . t̩[. .]e̩
[. . . . .]i aspectus e̩t̩ auditus et pedibu̩[s]
s
[. . . .] . nibus paçe dextra tu es intus
[. . . . .]a nostri tu sanctum cae̩lum
[. . . . s]u̩per noba terra et nostrorum
[. . . . .]um̩ aspector et designatio bene̩
[dic]t̩[i]onis trab̩ea nobis mittitur
[me]m̩[o]riae adfice̩ tui m[i]nu̩men tua domi̩
[ne] magnific`i´entia tua pat̩er nostri lux

Recto.

alma qui gubernas a[
hanc negotiationem h[
li̩beras huius humana[
lorum dissolutione o[
tio̩ luc[i]s recta vi sancti̩[
ascens̩u occasioque ad[
strum̩ seculum o[[e]]ctav̩[um
dominus qui inter nos e[
bor puer designatus le̩ . h̩[
[.]ma̩[. .] impotentum qui v[.]r̩[
[. . . . . .] morbos animarum . [
[. . . . .] qu[i] in oblibione sunt e̩su̩[
e̩[t] mentibus nostris clari̩ . o̩ . [
ras formas nostras caligine̩ e̩t̩ inf̩[i]
rm̩itas . . [
[.]c̣as nos̩[. .] . [
ere >(——
— ⌒ —
explicitus >——

1. Perhaps *oboedi]entia.*
2. *mi]rabilis*, or *admir]abilis*, is perhaps the most likely supplement. At the end of the line *n̩ivē* =

nive(m) might be read, but though the abbreviation stroke in Latin would generally indicate *-em*, rather than *-en*, the latter is so commonly abbreviated in Greek papyri that *vive(n)[tes* is probably to be preferred. *v* is also palaeographically preferable to *n* and yields a better sense. *Vivens*, which was used of the olive and the vine (see Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, s.v.), might well be used of *fruges*.

3. Perhaps *laet]e*. *Manduco*, a word rare in classical Latin, is frequently used of the Eucharist by Christian writers, e.g. Hauler, *op. cit.*, p. 107 ; *Passio S. Perpetuae*, 4 in *Texts and Studies*, i. 2, p. 68, l. 8 (early third century). The word, however, is by no means confined to this use ; cf. *Didascalia* (Hauler, p. 79, 1) *tanquam nolentes manducare et bibere*, and Philaster (ed. F. Marx, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. xxxviii), 112. 8 *bona terrae manducabitis*, which suggests that *terrae* might be supplied here : cf. below, l. 18.

4. Here the sense may be *we who partake of the sustenance (provided by) Thy wisdom.*

5. It is difficult not to suspect that the text is corrupt here. The reading, apart from the *o* (in place of which *u* might be read), is quite certain. The only Latin nouns ending in *-fius* given by Gradenwitz in his *Laterculi Latini* are *rufius* and *colefius*, neither of which need be considered, and there is no adjective ending in *-fis* ; nor is *-phius* a more helpful termination.

hilara imago suggests St. Paul's use of εἰκών, e.g. 1 Cor. xi. 7 (ἀνὴρ) εἰκὼν καὶ δόξα Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων, and 2 Cor. iv. 4 (Χρίστος) ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ, and in Latin, cf. Philaster, 137, 4 *imago dei divina et patris propria*, while *hilara* may have been prompted by the δόξα of 2 Cor. iv. 4. But *imago* need not be used in its Christological sense, cf. the *Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus* (Hauler, *op. cit.*, p. 119, 7) (*Christus*) *faciens imaginem resurrectionis.*

6. It is tempting to emend to *frumentum*, as Wilmart suggests ; the reading is certain. After this word is the only stop that appears in the papyrus ; elsewhere pauses in the sense are indicated by spacing.

7. The first seven letters of this line are unlike any others in the text ; they are faded and appear to be written in a reddish brown ink, whereas the rest of the text is written in black ink. This suggested that the letters were part of a rubric, but no suitable phrase is at hand and on the whole it seems more probable either that the scribe, by mistake, used a different ink or that his pen had run dry and the colour is the result of his scratching on the papyrus with insufficient ink. As a supplement *vivens in sua prop]rietate* might be hazarded ; if the writer is still referring to the *fruges*, *va]rietate* would be more appropriate.

There is a distinct space before the invocation *pater nostri* (for the peculiar form see the introduction).

8. *vincendum* : the second *n* has been written over an *m*. A possible supplement for this and the next line would be *vincendum propri[o filio* (or *puero*) *hos]tem* (or *Sata]nam*) ; but it is difficult to see where the verb can have stood. *Vincendum propri[asti inimi]cum*, *Thou hast taken unto thyself the conquering of the enemy*, would be difficult, if not impossible, Latin. For *proprius* used much as ἴδιος is in the N.T., cf. Hauler, *op. cit.*, p. 101 *quanta quidem Deus secundum propriam voluntatem praestitit hominibus.*

9. *principalis* is used of the Holy Spirit in the prayer at the consecration of a bishop in the Latin version of the *Egyptian Church Order* (Hauler, *op. cit.*, p. 105) *nunc effunde eam virtutem, quae a te est, principalis spiritus, quam dedisti dilecto filio tuo.* The presence of the word *missio* immediately preceding *princi-* here is in favour of a similar use of the word here ; but it would be difficult to read *spiritus* into the traces surviving at the beginning of the next line. It may, of course, have been contracted ; but the papyrus shows no other examples of contractions of *nomina sacra*. Alternatively, the word may be part of an invocation : cf. *principium princeps* in Commodianus, ii. 49.

10. I have not placed *vultus*—Wilmart's suggestion for the word at the end of this line—in the text, because, although *vul[* could easily be read, it does not seem possible that both a *t* and a *u* intervene between the *l* and the *s*, even allowing for some cramping of the letters (not apparent elsewhere) at the end of the line.

11. I have been unable to make any sense of the letters preceding *dies* at the beginning of this line, although most of them are clear enough. Instead of *l*, *u* (or *v*) might be read, and in the space between it and the following *u* there might be room for an *i* (e.g. *noli*). The letter preceding the *r* (which I originally read as *si*—a possible but less likely reading) is blotted, and the scribe's intention may have been to expunge it, but *anoluur* is not more promising. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the passage is corrupt. Ratcliff points out that *dies favoris* might be interpreted either as (1) the eighth age (see note to *saeculum octavum*, l. 24), or (2) the day of triumph of the good, cf. Malachi iv. 1, or (3) the Christian Sunday. Perhaps the last is the most likely.

After *oblatio* there is room for two more letters; but there are no traces of ink, and the surface of the papyrus does not appear to be rubbed. The scribe, however, does not observe a straight margin; *victus* in l. 4 is similarly set back in the line. There can be little doubt that *oblatio* is to be construed with the subsequent words.

12. Perhaps [*viven*]*tium aquarum*, though there is room for a longer word. After *haustu* there is room for *m* or for two other letters, e.g. *in cen*[*a*] might be read. For the sentiment cf. Philaster, 20. 1 (*dominum*) . . . *fontem aquae vivae.*

13. The Graecized spelling of *evaggelium* is worth notice. The sentence may be compared with P. Lond. Christ. 4, 12–13 σοῦ ἀπὸ στόματος λόγ[ος] ὑγιείας [ἐ]στὶν δοτήρ. At the end of the line *is-* is as likely as *ir-*.

14. Either *nus* or *mus* could be read. It is difficult not to believe that an 'e' has fallen out here and that we should read *sancta⟨e⟩ virginis.*

15. This line is reminiscent of 1 John i. 1 ὃ ἦν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ὃ ἀκηκόαμεν, ὃ ἑωράκαμεν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, but it is not easy to fit *pedibus* into any sentence based on this. If the sense is *trodden under foot*, i.e. *rejected of all men* (and the expression, though strong, would not be impossible in the exaggerated style of this text), *pedibus spretus omnibus* may have been the reading of the papyrus; if the line was as long as l. 2, there would be room for two more letters after *pedibus.*

16. The pause after *-nibus* indicates that a new sentence begins here; but although this section of the text is better preserved than the rest, it is no less baffling. The surface of the papyrus on the inner edge of the margin has flaked, and consequently it is possible, though not likely, that space for a couple of letters should be allowed for at the end of this and the next two lines. *Pace dextra tu es intus* is difficult to construe, even if *dextra* be taken as an adjective. *Parte* was certainly not written. Possibly the sentence ran *tu es intus* [*in anim*]*a nostri* (cf. the use of *pater nostri*). The *s* above the *x* of *dextra* has been added by the first hand.

18. *noba* (l. *nova*) *terra* may be an ablative governed by *super*; otherwise *nova terra⟨e⟩* in the sense of 'first-fruits' would agree well with the first part of the text.

19. The word *aspector* is so rare (the *Thesaurus* can only quote a single instance, from S. Augustine, *Serm.* 117, 12 *existit imago mox ut aspector exstiterit*; the reference is to a mirror) that it seems better to assume a slip on the part of the scribe and read *aspectaret.* On the other hand, the presence of a noun here would make the construction of the sentence, with *nostrorum* and the subsequent word dependent on it, easier.

20. *trabea* is a difficult but, it seems, an inevitable reading; the *r* is mutilated, but could only be replaced by *f* or *s*, neither of which would be possible in this position. *Trabea* is used several times in a metaphysical sense by Christian writers on the Incarnation; Forcellini quotes from Fulgentius, *Sermo de S. Stephano, heri rex noster trabea carnis indutus* (see also Ducange, *Glossaria mediae et infimae Latinitatis*). Ratcliff suggests a parallel with the 'robe of the soul' in the Syriac *Hymn of the Soul* (ed. A. A. Bevan, *Texts and Studies*, v. 3: see e.g. pp. 13. 9, 19. 1–146, 25. 72, etc.)

A space of some three letters has been left after *mittitur* at the end of the line.

21. *m(i)nu̇men*, i.e. *munimen*—an easy enough error for a scribe whose Latin was scanty. Between the *m* and the *n* there is only a very little space—probably enough for an *o*. Consequently, the reading *munimenta* (which would also have left an unexplained letter before *domi*) is best abandoned. The sentence would run: *Place it in thy memory; our defence is in thy magnificence, O Lord, in thy kindly light, O Father of us. Lux* may be a reminiscence of the φῶς ἐθνῶν of Isaiah xlix. 6.

22. Read *magnificentia.*

24. *negotiationem*: a word used in the Vulgate, though only in its literal sense of *business, trafficking.* Wilmart suggests that here it might be the equivalent of χειροθεσία; Ratcliff suggests οἰκονομία or πραγματεία = *plan, disposition*, comparing 3 Kings x. 23 αὕτη ἦν ἡ πραγματεία τῆς προνομῆς (*sc.* of Solomon), or else *work*, as in id. xi. 1. Possibly it might refer to the whole process of the offering and consecration of the fruits. It is worth noting that in Goetz-Gunderman, *Corpus Glossarum Latinarum*, *negotiatio* is twice (ii. 133. 18, and 414. 61) glossed by πραγμάτεια; the use of the latter in the N.T. suggests that *negotiatio* here might mean *secular life, the affairs of this world.*

25. Wilmart suggests for this and the next line *liberas huius humana*[*e creaturae vincu*]*lorum dissolutione* —which would fit exactly the estimated gap, though a direct object to *liberas* is still wanting. We may compare the *Egyptian Church Order* (Hauler, *op. cit.*, p. 106) *extendit manus cum pateretur ut a passione*

liberaret eos qui in te crediderunt; cf. also the passage from the consecration prayer in the Canons of Hippolytus (*Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica*, i. p. 264 (no. 2562)) *et tribue illi facultatem ad dissoluenda omnia vincula iniquitatis daemonum, et ad sanandos morbos* (cf. *morbos animarum* in l. 33 below).

Another possibility would be to read [*saccu*]*lorum dissolutione* which might look forward to the *saeculum octavum* of l. 29.

27. Wilmart suggests *sancti*[*ficas*: *Thou sanctifiest with the direct force of Thy light.*

28. Perhaps a reminiscence of Malachi iv. 2 *but unto you that fear my name shall the Sun of righteousness arise with healing in his wings.*

29. A letter may have intervened between the *u* and the *m* of *-strum*; more probably it is a case of irregular spacing.

In *saeculum octavum* is to be found perhaps the only certain allusion in the papyrus. In *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (ed. R. H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, ii, pp. 425 sq.) the view is stated that, as the world was created in six days, so world history is to endure for six 'days' or periods, each of 1,000 years; then follows the Sabbath, the seventh day or period of rest, in its turn succeeded by the eighth day, when time ends and there shall be 'neither years nor months nor days nor hours' (*op. cit.*, p. 451). This particular millennial system does not seem to have been widely adopted and references to the eighth day or period (it is probably alluded to in the Epistle of Barnabas xv. 2–8 ἄλλου κόσμου ἀρχήν) are scanty until Augustine. In the *De Civitate Dei* xxii. 30, § 5, we read *haec tamen septima erit Sabbatum nostrum* (the seventh day could be identified with the earthly rule of the Messiah), *cuius finis non erit vespera, sed dominicus dies velut octavus aeternus.* There can be little doubt that the *saeculum octavum* of the papyrus is the *dies octavus* of Augustine: it is strange that there is no trace of the words, and little of the idea, in the preceding centuries. In the *Oracula Sibyllina* (ed. Geffcken) ii. 311 and vii. 140 there is a reference to the coming of the Millennium in the eighth αἰών; see the editor's note on the latter passage which suggests that there may be some connexion between this idea and the Gnostic Ἀρχήγονος Ὀγδόας. From a different point of view a passage in Philaster (141, 2 sq.), in which *octavus* is used metaphorically in connexion with *oblatio*, is of interest. The writer is advocating the symbolic interpretation of the Jewish festivals: *octavaque est plenitudinis fructuum pomorumque vindemiae Octobris mensis omnium postrema conlatio et consummatio*, and again (*ibid.* 5): *octiens enim offerentes dona annua et octavae diei quippe dominicae plenitudinem cognoscentes divinique spiritus accincti fortitudine id est summa rerum perfectione praediti, deque hoc exeuntes saeculo, resurrectionis illic promissam gloriam se posse consequi caelestisque dignitatis consortio copulari desperarunt, quod dominus dignatus est dicere tunc eritis sicut angeli iustis omnibus et perfectis hoc praedicens quod et Deus dixit pro octava adnuntians.* With this should be compared a passage in the *Didascalia* (Hauler, p. 75: see also R. H. Connolly's edition (*Didascalia Apostolorum*, Oxford 1929), pp. 236–7, with his note); the author, arguing that the Christian Sunday is prior to the Jewish Sabbath and that it is both the first and the last day (*supra sabbatum*) of an eight-day period, writes *sed et ipse sabbatus intra se cum resupputatur, sabbatum ad sabbatum fiunt octo dies*; *octava igitur* ⟨*fit*⟩, *quae super sabbatum est, una sabbati.*[1]

31. *Puer designatus.* The use of *puer* here instead of *filius* is due to Greek influence, as παῖς is commonly used (though not by St. Paul) of the Son of God, e.g. Acts iii. 13 ὁ Θεὸς . . . ἐδόξασεν τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν, and, outside the N.T., *Didache* ix ἧς ἐγνωρίσας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου. *Puer* is rarely used in this sense in Latin; it occurs in the Vulgate version of Acts iv. 27—*sanctum puerum tuum Jesum*—and several times in the text of *The Apostolic Tradition*, e.g. (Hauler, p. 106) *gratias tibi referimus per dilectum puerum tuum Jesum Christum* and (p. 107) *glorificemus* (*te*) *per puerum tuum Jesum Christum.*

Designatus = ὁρισθείς, προορισθείς. *Designare*, however, is not used in the Vulgate version of the N.T. to translate these words; it occurs in Commodianus, *Apol.* 435 *credere quem libri designant.*

At the end of the line perhaps two letters should be read between the *e* and *h*; *l e g* or *l e t h* (? *lethalis*) would be possible, but the traces immediately before the *h* do not resemble an *e*.

33. The text seems to end with a prayer, first, for those sick in body or mind, then for the dead (*qui in oblivione sunt*) and finally for illumination and release from darkness (? for those making the offering). The prayer in the Epiclesis in the Sacramentary of Serapion of Thmuis may be compared: καὶ ποιήσον πάντας τοὺς κοινωνοῦντας φάρμακον ζωῆς λαβεῖν εἰς θεραπείαν παντὸς νοσήματος καὶ εἰς ἐνδυνάμωσιν πάσης προκοπῆς (text in

[1] On the importance of the number eight in Babylonian astronomy and astrology (cf. the eight towers of the temple of Belus, Herodotus I, 181) see A. Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischer Geisteskultur* (Leipzig, 1913), pp. 43, 107 sq., 150.

Brightman, *Journal of Theological Studies*, i. (1899), p. 106). Cf. also the conclusion of P. Wurz. 3. verso, 13 *sq.* τοὺς δὲ ἀρρωστοῦ⟨ντας⟩ τοῦ λαοῦ σου θεράπευσον, τ[οὺς] ἀσθενοῦντας ἴασε (l. ἴασαι) and (l. 18) ἰατρὸς ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων, for which cf. also P. Lond. Christ. 4. 9–10.

36. Cf. Cyprian, *Ep.* 76. 7 *ut de istis quoque tenebris et laqueis mundi nos quoque vobiscum integros Deus liberat.*

39. Perhaps [*miser*]*cre*—unless the scribe kept to the Greek rule of dividing the word before the consonant.

40. *Explicitus*: it is interesting to find this written in full without suspension, as it has been held that the correct expansion of *expc.* is *explicit*, not *explicitus* (so apparently Steffens, *Lateinische Paläographie*, no. 23). The correct explanation is given elsewhere and by W. M. Lindsay, *Palaeographia Latina*, ii, p. 21, who mentions that *explicitus* is also found in the Leyden Priscian.

473. SALLUST, *HISTORIES*.

Acquired in 1917. Oxyrhynchus. 13·8 × 18·4 cm. Second to third century. PLATE 3.

Shortly after I had been able to establish the identity of this papyrus, on the verso of which is the Greek astrological treatise, **527**, by the coincidence of l. 18 with Hist. I, frag. 83 (ed. B. Maurenbrecher),[1] it came to my notice that another fragment of the same roll existed among the unpublished papyri from Oxyrhynchus, in the possession of the Egypt Exploration Society. It was obviously desirable that the two texts should be published together; and since the Committee of the Society have generously given me permission to make use of their text, it has been printed below as (2). The two fragments do not join; but the similarity both in subject matter and script of both the Greek and the Latin texts leaves no doubt that they come from the same roll (or perhaps from different rolls of the same work written by the same scribe). The Latin text is a magnificent example of Rustic Capital writing, not unlike P. Ryl. **42**, recently identified by Dr. E. A. Lowe as Sallust, *Bellum Iugurthinum*, 31, 7.[2] It is, however, somewhat earlier than this, as the Greek text on the verso can be assigned to the third century and so sumptuous a manuscript is not likely to have been used very soon for a second text. The lay-out of the text was on a scale comparable to the script; the lower margin measures 7 cm. in depth, and a space of 4 cm. was left between the columns. The number of lines to a page cannot be exactly estimated, but it was probably not less than 20. There is no punctuation; but *apices*[3] are found three times in (2), and a dash is occasionally used to mark the division of a word. The only example of ligature is *-um* in *algosum* (l. 8) and *infidum* (l. 35).

The position of (2) may be regarded as certain; its subject is clearly the ethnology and past history of Sardinia, of which it is known that Sallust treated at the beginning of Book II of the *Histories*. Further, it is highly probable that ll. 42–3 contain an extant fragment (II. 7) dealing with the story of Daedalus's flight to Sardinia. The position

[1] Unless otherwise stated, all references to the *Histories* are given from this edition.

[2] *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, ii. no. 223 (with plate).

[3] Or perhaps accents; cf. C. H. Roberts in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, xxi. 202, on the accentuation in the *Antinoë Juvenal.*

of (1), the Rylands fragment, is by no means so sure. It describes a successful attack from the sea on a land force described as *genus trepidissimum Graecorum et Aforum semermium*, who have shortly before killed some allies of the attackers; the latter are successful, and after burying their allies and plundering the neighbourhood, they proceed on their way to Spain. So far the papyrus; and were this all, the whole incident might be referred to the withdrawal from Sardinia of the defeated forces of Lepidus, under the leadership of Perperna, to join Sertorius in Spain. But the lost line of this column of the papyrus is supplemented by an extant fragment (I. 83) which adds to the words *perrexere in Hispaniam* two more, *an Sardiniam*. Unless we are prepared to assume either that the words *perrexere in Hispaniam* occurred twice in the same book of the *Histories*, or that the text is corrupt—and neither alternative seems very probable—the words cannot refer to Perperna's withdrawal.[1] But in the first two books of the *Histories* there are two other episodes to which this fragment might be attached. The first is the flight of Lepidus from Italy after the failure of his *coup d'état*; to this incident fragment I. 83 is referred by Maurenbrecher and Dietsch.[2] But our authorities mention no naval battle; we are only told that Lepidus was utterly defeated by Pompey near Cosa in Etruria and then fled to Sardinia.[3] There is, however, a statement in Exuperantius (3, 26) which, because it does not apply to the battle at Cosa, is referred (Maurenbrecher, *Proleg.* 14, note 2) to the previous attempt of Lepidus in 78 B.C.: *sed in Etruriae litore commisso proelio coeperat Lepidus esse superior per armatam multitudinem quae odio rerum Sullanarum se Lepidi partibus applicarat.* If we may assume (and it is not a difficult assumption) that this refers, not to an incident of 78 B.C., but to an engagement fought by Lepidus after his defeat at Cosa, we may note that it meets some of our requirements. A battle has been fought on the sea shore; Lepidus has had an advantage, but clearly does not sustain it (i.e. is forced to sail away); further, his forces are described as *armatam multitudinem*, perhaps in contrast with those of the enemy (cf. the *armati* and *semermium* of the papyrus). It remains to identify the *genus trepidissimum Graecorum et Aforum semermium.* It is possible that this phrase might be used by an opponent (and Sallust's sympathies might well be with Lepidus and against the Senate) of the crews of a Roman fleet; at this time the ships were manned partly by Greeks of the allied cities of South Italy and partly by *libertini*, among whom might be men of Carthaginian or Phoenician descent. It is true that there is no other evidence that a fleet was used against Lepidus (and on this interpretation we should have to suppose that the crews of the ships were on the shore when Lepidus attacked them), but a fleet had been sent under P. Servilius in the previous year against the pirates, and there is nothing impossible in the use of a fleet on this occasion. On this view (1) would probably belong to *Histories* I; but as one book of the *Histories* may well have proved too extensive for a single roll, especially when written on this scale,

[1] Other objections to this view then arise: (*a*) there is no record of any engagement fought by Perperna on this occasion; (*b*) it is very doubtful whether the description *genus trepidissimum Graecorum et Aforum semermium* could apply to the inhabitants of Sardinia, however mixed their descent; (*c*) it seems likely that in the Greek text (2) precedes (1) and, as the Greek is written the reversed way up, this involves that, in the Latin, (1) the description of the fight would precede (2) the description of Sardinia.

[2] *Sallusti quae supersunt*, ii. p. 33.

[3] On the authorities for these events, see Maurenbrecher, *Prolegomena*, pp. 14 sq., and his edition of the fragments of the *Histories*, pp. 20 sq.

they may both have been part of the same roll. It must be admitted that this view involves a number of assumptions which have little evidence to support them.

The alternative theory, first suggested to me by Professor Last, would relate this fragment to the adventures of Sertorius in 81 B.C. Near the end of 83 B.C. Sertorius had left Rome to take up his position as governor of Hispania Citerior, and when in the next year the Sullan general, Gaius Annius, crossed the Pyrenees and advanced against him, Sertorius retired on Cartagena and thence with three thousand men took ship for Africa. He landed on the Mauretanian coast, but the natives (described by Plutarch as *βάρβαροι*) attacked his men as they were fetching water and inflicted heavy losses on him. He set sail for Spain again, but was driven off and, together with some Cilician pirates who attached themselves to him, attacked the island of Pituoussa (Iviza). Here he was defeated by Annius's fleet, and after various adventures (irrelevant for our purposes) later in the same year landed again in Mauretania, this time to free the inhabitants from the rule of a certain Ascalis, who had been placed on the throne by Cilician pirates. He achieved his purpose and apparently spent some time in the country before accepting the invitation of the Lusitanian ambassadors to lead a rising in Spain.[1] Two considerations in favour of this theory should be noted; it has been established (see Maurenbrecher, *Prolegomena*, 27–9) that Sallust devoted a good deal of space to the career of Sertorius, whom he greatly admired, and that Plutarch drew extensively on the *Histories* for his Life of Sertorius. Unfortunately there are objections to associating our fragment with either of these two incidents. If it relates to Sertorius's first visit to Mauretania, it is difficult to explain the words *Graecorum et Afrorum semermium* in this context, nor does Plutarch mention a counter-attack by Sertorius's troops, nor would one expect to find *socii* used of his detachments. On the other hand the description quoted above might well be applied to the Cilician pirates with their native allies, who were Sertorius's opponents on his second visit to Mauretania; but after the war was over Sertorius stayed some time in the country, and this will not suit the *perrexere in Hispaniam* of the papyrus. In spite of these difficulties it may well seem more probable that (1) relates somehow to Sertorius's adventures than that it treats of the flight of Lepidus; in the absence of definite evidence it is best to leave the question open.

Sallust seems to have enjoyed a certain degree of popularity in Egypt; he is found more often in the papyri than any other Latin author, except Cicero and Virgil. In addition to P. Ryl. **42**, another fragment of the *Bellum Jugurthinum* has been published by P. Lehmann in *SB. Preuss. Akad.* 1934, no. 4, and the *Bellum Catilinae* is represented by P. Oxy. VI. 884 and P. S. I. 1. 110. For valuable help in the preparation of this text I am indebted to Professor H. M. Last and Professor E. Fraenkel.

(1) P. Ryl.

TRANSCRIPTION A.

. . . . . .

[. . . . .]g̣[. . . . .]

[. . . . .]ẹ̣ . ạẹ̣ . [. . . . .]

[1] Our chief authority for these episodes is Plutarch's *Life of Sertorius*, cc. 6 sq.; see A. Schulten's article on Sertorius in *RE.* 2. 1 (2 Reihe), 1746 sq.

[. . . . . .] . ạṭarọ . . [. . .] . [.]
[.]ẹrtusireetdolorisin
talibussociisamissisaṛ
matinavibuseivolant
ṣcaphisautnaṇḍopars
[.]uppibusinlitusạlgosum
[.]npulsisnequeeosdiuti
[.]ṣhostesmanseregenus
[. .]epidissimumgraecō
[.]umetafrorumsemermi
[.]mdeinsociisprofortu
[.]ạhumatisetomnibus
[. .]aeusuierantexpropin
[. . .]correptisubinulla . . .
[. . .]sessetpatrandiincepti ạ[
[. .].rexereinhispaniam . [

(2) P. Oxy. *sine numero.*

Frag. (a).

Col. i

. . . .
[. . .]ẹṛ[
[. .]ẹtuṣ[
[. .]ṣiphṭ[
[. .]rdị[
[. . .]ri[
. . .

Frag. (b).

. . . . . .
[. . . . . .]ạniolaọ[. . . . .]
[. . . . . .]mincertumtrạ
[. . .]ạṛịri[. .]ịsantestimo⁻
[. .]umadscitaegentisba
[. . .]óscorsitransfugas
[. .].llanteosaliinumi
[. . .]ṛparshispanósputant
[. . .]oenorumexercitugẹ
[. . .]ingeniómobiliaut
[. .]ciorummetuinfidum
[. .].civestecultubarba
[. .]lloceltibericoetla

Col. ii.

. . . . . .
ç[
coṇ[
viṭ[
di[
daę[
fectụ[

Frag. (c) + Frag. (d).

]i̯oneę[ ]que
. . .]per
]i̯s̱s̱e
. . .

9. The first *s* of *inpulsis* has been corrected from *l*.

TRANSCRIPTION B.

(1) P. Ryl.

. . . . . .
[. . . . .]g[. . . . . .]
[. . . . .]e . ae . [. . . . . .]
[. . . . .] . ataro . . [. . .]r[e-]
[f]ertus ir⟨a⟩e et doloris in
talibus sociis amissis. Ar-
mati navibus e{i}volant
scaphis aut nando, pars
[p]uppibus in litus algosum
[i]npulsis; neque eos diuti-
[u]s hostes mansere genus
[tr]epidissimum Graeco-
[r]um et Afrorum semermi-
[u]m . Dein sociis pro fortu-
[n]a humatis et omnibus
[qu]ae usui erant ex propin- . .
[quo] correptis, ubi nulla [
[spe]s esset patrandi incepti, a[
[pe]rrexere in Hispaniam . [

(2) P. Oxy. *sine numero.*

Frag. (a).

Col. i.

. . . .
[. . .]er[*c.* 15 letters]

[. .]etus [*c.* 14 letters]
[. .]si ph[„ „]
[. .]rdi[*c.* 15 „]
[. . .]ri[„ „]
. . .

Frag. (b).

. . . . . .
[. . . . . .] an Iolao [. . . . .]
[. . . . . .]m incertum tra-
[. . .]ariri[. .]is an testimo-
[ni]um adscitae gentis. Ba-
[lar]os Corsi transfugas
[Pa]llanteos, alii Numi-
[das], pars Hispanos putant
[de P]oenorum exercitu; ge-
[nus] ingenio mobili aut
[so]ciorum metu infidum,
[no]sci veste cultu barba.
[Be]llo Celtiberico et la

Col. ii.

. . . . . .
c[*c.* 19 letters]
con[*c.* 17 „]
vit[„ „]
di[*c.* 18 „]
Dae[dalum ex Sicilia pro-]
fectu[m quo Minonis iram]

Frag. (c) + Frag. (d).

]ione [ ]que
. . .]per
]isse
. . .

ll. 4–18. '. . . filled with anger and grief at the loss of such allies. Armed men rush out of the ships, some in skiffs, some swimming; others drove the sterns of their ships on to the seaweed-choked shore. Nor did the enemy, a cowardly crowd of half-armed Greeks and Africans, withstand them any longer. They then buried their allies as best they could, and laying their hands on everything near by that was of service to them, when they saw there was no hope of carrying out their design, they set out, making for Spain or Sardinia . . .'

ll. 28–37. '. . . it being uncertain whether (the name) is . . . or evidence of their foreign origin. The Balari were runaways from the Carthaginian army—according to the Corsicans, they came from Pallantia, while some think them Numidians and others Spaniards—a race whom either their fickle temperament or fear of their allies rendered disloyal, recognized by their dress, their manners and their beards. In the Celtiberian war . . .'

ll. 42–3. '. . . Daedalus fled from Sicily to escape the anger and power of Minos'.

4. *refertus* (of the first *r* of which only the smallest traces remain) is not found elsewhere in Sallust, nor can I find an exact parallel to this expression in any other author; for its use with the genitive cf. Kühner-Stegmann, i, p. 441, and for the expression cf. e.g. *spei bonae pleni* in *Iug.* 113, 2 and *plenum irae* in Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 10, 2. *Incertus* (in the sense in which it is used in Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 75 *ultionis incerta*) cannot apparently be used with a pair of nouns = *hesitating between.* The singular is difficult, but may have been preceded by *quisque*, a word of which Sallust is very fond (see the index in Dietsch, *op. cit.*).

For Sallust's use of *in* see S. L. Fighiera, *La Lingua di Sallustio*, 161; I can find no exact parallel to this usage, but it approximates to *in*='in the case of'.

6. *ei volant*: corr. Fraenkel.

7. *scapha* occurs once elsewhere in Sallust—*Hist.* iv, frag. 2.

For this use of *pars*, cf. *omnis . . . pars* in *Iug.* 97, 5.

8. *algosus* is quoted only four times in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*—once from Pliny (*N. H.* 32, 95), once from Ausonius (396, 43 *algoso legitur litore*), and twice in Sidonius (*Ep.* 2, 2, 16—*fontibus algidis, litoribus algosis*—and 8, 9, 5 vers. 33). The fact that twice out of the four times it is used with *litus* suggests that the writers may have had this passage in mind. For Sallust's use of adjectives in *-osus*, see Fighiera, *op. cit.*, p. 48; he remarks that they always denote abundance or excess, and ascribes their presence in Sallust to the influence of the early annalists.

9. The mark after [*i*]*npulsis* may have been inserted by the scribe as a note that correction was required.

11. The dictionaries cite neither comparative nor superlative for *trepidus*.

12. *semermium*: the word is not found elsewhere in Sallust. It is noteworthy that with the exception of *semisomnus* (*Iug.* 21, 2), no instance of an adjective compounded with *semi-* is found except in the *Histories* (see Fighiera, *op. cit.*, 52) where *semianimus*, *semirutus*, and *semipletus* all occur.

13. The nearest parallel in Sallust to this use of *pro* is perhaps *Iug.* 50, 2 *deinde ipse pro re atque loco, sicuti monte descenderat, paulatim procedere.*

17. *incepta patrare* occurs in *Cat.* 56, 4, *Iug.* 70, 5.

18. =*Hist.* i, frag. 83 (Servius ad Aen., i. 329) *perrexere in Hispaniam an Sardiniam*, which Servius quotes as an example of the use of *an* as a disjunctive conjunction; cf. Madvig on Cic. *De Fin.* 2, 104: *Thesaurus*, ii. p. 6, 83 sq.

21 sq. That this fragment belongs to the left-hand top corner of the first column of fragment (*b*) is made more than probable by the Greek text on the verso. It is possible that its last line may overlap with the first line (l. 26) of fragment (*b*). If, however, (*a*) belongs to another column, no other part of which survives, the *ph* of l. 23 might be part of the name of L. Marcius Philippus one of Lepidus' most active opponents.

24. Probably [*Sa*]*rdi* or [*Sa*]*rdi*[*ni-*.

26. I am indebted to Prof. Fraenkel for the reading *Iolao*. According to one story of the settlement of Sardinia, Iolaus led thither from Thespiae the descendants of Hercules, who were then known as Ἰολαεῖς (Strabo, v. 225), Ἰολάειοι (Diodorus, v. 15), or Ἰολάοι (so the MSS. Diodorus, iv. 30). They were identified with the Ilienses (cf. *R.E.*, ix. i. 1846: ix. 2, 1062); that they are mentioned immediately before the Balari may suggest that the occasion of their mention by Sallust was the joint revolt by the two tribes against Roman dominion in 178 B.C. (Livy, xli. 6 and 12), On the other hand, as Daedalus is mentioned below, in l. 42, it is more likely that this passage is concerned only with the anthropology and mythical history of the island.

27. The parenthetic use of *incertum* appears to be confined, in the works of Sallust, to the *Histories*, cf. iv. 53 *suspectusque fuit, incertum vero an per neglegentiam, societatem praedarum cum latronibus composuisse*; also iii. 73 and iv. 1.

28. Instead of [. .]ạṛịri, [. .]ṛạịri might be read, and *t* or *e* might take the place of the first *i*.

29. *Balaros*: Sallust's account of the origin of this tribe agrees fairly closely with that given by Pausanias, x. 17, 5. According to the latter, they were fugitives from Libya or Spain who had deserted from the Carthaginian army in the first Punic war and settled in the Sardinian mountains; *Balari* was the name given to them by the Corsicans and was the Corsican word for fugitives.

31. [*Pa*]*llanteos*: to the left of the first *l* is an ink mark which could not be part of the letter *a*, though it might belong to an *e* or perhaps an *i*. Consequently, if [*Pa*]*llanteos* is read, the mark must be regarded as due to a blot by the scribe. Another possibility would be to suppose that by a slip parallel to that in l. 9 the scribe wrote [*At*]*llanteos* for *Atlanteos*, referring to the tribes living in the neighbourhood of the Atlas

mountains, elsewhere referred to as *Atlantes*; this form of their name is used by Ammianus Marcellinus, xv. 3, 6. Pallantia, a city in Hispania Tarraconensis, was one of the towns of the Vaccaei (or according to Strabo, iii. 162, of the Arevaci) who were opponents of Rome in the Celtiberian war; but why they should be distinguished from other Spaniards is not clear, as there seems to be no other record of refugees from either Carthaginian or Roman domination escaping and settling in Sardinia.

31. For Sallust's use of *alii* and *pars*, cf. *Hist.* ii. 87 A, 20, iii. 84: Fighiera, *op. cit.*, 88.

33. The mention of the Carthaginians in this passage suggests that *Hist.* ii, frag. 114 *et Poeni ferunt adversus* may belong to a subsequent column; Maurenbrecher notes that it might find a place either in the description of Sardinia or in the history of Nova Carthago.

genus, &c.: this clause is taken from the characterization of the Numidians in *Iug.* 46, 3: *genus Numidarum infidum, ingenio mobili*: see also *Iug.* 66, 2.

36. [*no*]*sci*: not entirely satisfactory, but no alternative suggests itself.

37. The reference to the Celtiberian war, in which Pallantia and its neighbourhood were involved, suggests that *Pallanteos* may be the correct supplement in l. 31.

42–3. = *Hist.* ii, frag. 7 *Daedalum ex Sicilia profectum, quo Minonis iram atque opes fugerat.*

44. Both of these fragments retain part of the upper margin, so not improbably they come from the same column—perhaps from the top of col. ii of frag. (*b*); but this is quite uncertain.

474. LATIN JURISTIC FRAGMENTS.

Acquired in 1917. Frag. (a) 10·8 × 7 cm. Fourth century. PLATE 3.

In the preparation of this and of the other legal texts in this volume (**475**, **476**, and **479**) I have been greatly assisted by Professor F. de Zulueta, whom I have consulted throughout, and who has worked over each of the texts in detail; both the introductions and the notes, in as far as any legal issues are concerned, owe very much to him. I wish also to thank Professor W. W. Buckland, who has been consulted by Professor de Zulueta, and to whom the identification of fragment (b) recto of the present text is due.

474 consists of two fragments of a papyrus codex, almost certainly not from the same leaf. The hand is a heavy and sloping mixed uncial, in general style not unlike that of the Vienna *Formula Fabiana* (Steffens, *Lateinische Paläographie*, 14), though larger and less elegant, and is assigned by Dr. E. A. Lowe to the fourth century; the ink is a dark brown, smudged in places. There are two glosses, one Greek, one Latin; both are perhaps by the same hand, but are certainly not due to the scribe of the main text, though probably contemporary with it. Abbreviations, which are frequent and sometimes obscure, are marked by a line drawn over the letter or letters and a middle point placed after them. Thanks to the identification of fragment (b) recto the length of a line of text can be estimated at about 8 cm.; the height of a page of text cannot be determined, but as the upper margin measures 5·4 cm. (the side margins appear to measure 3 cm. on the outside and 2 cm. on the inside, giving a page about 12 cm. in width), the height of the codex probably greatly exceeded its breadth. Another example of this format is **460**; there are reasons for thinking (see Schubart, *Das Buch*[2], pp. 131 sq. and 186) that this was one of the earlier types of codex, when the latter was generally adopted for literary texts.

Fragment (b) recto has been identified with *Digest* XII, 1, 1, 1, which is from Ulpian, *Ad Edictum* XXVI; as far as l. 12 the two texts are in agreement, but in l. 13 there is a disagreement, perhaps due to corruption in **474**; in l. 14 they coincide again. The

other fragments have not, as yet, been identified, and it is very doubtful whether they are extant. The codex may have been a collection of excerpts from Ulpian or from various jurists, but on the assumption that it was a copy of Ulpian's commentary on the Edict, some guesses as to the subjects of fragment (b) verso and of fragment (a) can be made. The former clearly discusses what is covered by the term *pecunia*; this might well be in connexion with the Edict *Si certum petetur* (Lenel, *Edictum*[3], pp. 232 sq.). In view of the shortness of the lines there can have been no great distance between the recto and the verso of the text; but if we look at Lenel's reconstruction of that part of Ulpian's *Ad Edictum* to which the recto apparently belongs (*Palingenesia*, ii, Ulp. 755 sq.) we find nothing resembling the text given us here. But it must be remembered that not all of Ulpian's Book XXVI survives, and that **474** may quite possibly have consisted of quotations from various jurists, as did the *Fragmenta Vaticana*. In fragment (a) two supplements suggest themselves for ll. 4 and 5, *constituta* and *instituta*. The former is in itself the more probable and, since it is not improbable that the two fragments come from neighbouring pages of the codex, it may be noted that the Edict *De pecunia constituta* was commented on by Ulpian in Book XXVII (see Lenel, *Palingenesia*, 785 sq.), but no passage has been found in which the word *constituta* is repeated in such close proximity. If *constituta* is accepted as the reading in these lines, the recto might be referred to the commentary on *debitam* of the Edict *Qui pecuniam debitam constituit* (Lenel, *Edictum*, p. 247). But Ulpian's commentary on this point is preserved in *Digest* XIII, 5, 1, 5–8; 3; 5; 7; 11, though it may have been abbreviated. There are, however, other possibilities, e.g. that this fragment deals with *indebitum* (cf. Ulpian, *ad Edictum* XXVI in *Digest* XII, 6, 26, 3 = *Frag. Vatic.* 266 (Lenel, *Palingenesia*, 774)), in which case it is fairly certain that the fragment is not extant.

The chief interest of this discovery lies in the fact that it disproves the alleged interpolation of *Digest* XII, 1, 1, 1 (see F. Pringsheim in *Zeitschr. Sav. Stift.*, 50 (1930), 375, with further literature; Lenel, *Edictum*, p. 235). This is important, because the scholastic character of the opening excerpts of *Digest* titles is a commonly accepted ground of suspicion. It can, of course, be answered that the interpolation is simply pre-Justinian; but it should be remembered that **474** was probably written some two centuries before the *Digest*.

474 was purchased together with **475** and **479** in Luxor, which suggests that their provenance may have been the Thebaid.

Frag. (a).

Recto.

debitum a(u)t(em) acci[per]
e debi[t] . vo[. . .] . b[. .]
[.] . [
. . . . . .

Verso.

[. .]nstituta cum xi· fu
[. . . . . .]st[it]uta nam
[. . . . . .] . [. .]derit
. . . . . .

Frag. (b).

Recto.

. . . . . .
pr(aetor) et [de commoda]
to et de [pignore edi]
xit nam cu[icumque]
10 συν μετα τιθε μεθα rei adṣ̃ẽnṭiạ[mur a]
lienam fịde[m secu]
ti mox re[c]epṭ[uri qui]
a ex hoc (contra)ctụ [crede]
[r]e dicimuṛ [. . . . . .]
. . . . . .

Verso.

. . . . . [. . . .]u[
ḷ[.]g v(er)b(um) [
15 [. . . . . cul]pa ded( ) ẹener[
est
[. . . . . .] . [.]ụt potu
[. . . . . .]m et pecuniae
[appell]atione uti nam
[pecunia]ẹ appellatio
20 [ne q]uicquid in pat
[rimon]io i( ) significa
[tur . .] . [.]t[.] ẹṃ[.] ṭ [.]
. . . . .

1. *Accipere*: probably in the sense, *to understand by*, in which it is frequently used by Ulpian; see *Vocabularium Iurisprudentiae Romanae*, i. 94–7.

4. For the supplement in this and the next line see the introduction. The point after *xi* is in the papyrus and was probably inserted to mark the numeral; this may well come from an illustration, cf. Ulpian in *Digest* XIII, 5, 11, 1; Paul 12, 13.

7. A dot of ink to the left of *pr*(*aetor*), where the margin is torn, may be the trace of a gloss.

10. συνμετατιθεμεθα must be a gloss on *adsentiamur*, but there is no warrant for this meaning in the lexica; in Cod. Just. 1, (42), 11, 3, 41 (6) μετατιθέναι = *convey*, *alienate*; no other legal meaning is attributed to either word. The mark above the line is a reference mark to the gloss.

12. *qui*]*a*: *mox recepturi quid*; *Digest*. The *quid* of the *Digest* is in fact not very apposite here, as in the examples quoted what is to be recovered is not 'anything' but the actual thing handed over. There is, however, no other object to *recepturi* to hand, and *quia* increases the difficulty of the sentence; it would be a likely scribal error for *quid*. If *quia* is kept, the sentence will require another verb or else *credere dicimur* (which clearly should be the main verb corresponding to *adsentiamur*) will have to become the verb of the subordinate clause and the sentence as given in the *Digest* will be incomplete. Most probably, then, *quia* is no more than a corruption of *quid*.

The symbol for *contra*, in the shape of a rather cursive *s*, is that already known from other texts, among them the sixth century *Fragmentum de Iure Fisci* which was found with the Verona Gaius (see Studemund, *Apographum Gaii Institutionum*, p. 260, col. i, ll. 9 sq.).

14. Just above the *r* of *dicimur* are traces of what was probably a reference mark to a gloss.

15. *dēd* .: perhaps to be expanded *ded*(*it*), (*-erunt*), *vel sim.* Studemund (*op. cit.*, p. 263) gives no example of this contraction; *deinde* is regularly contracted $\overline{dd}$. If some part of *dare* is to be recognized here, the collocation with *culpa*, which is a practically certain supplement, suggests a context dealing with *damnum*

iniuria (*dolo vel culpa*) *datum*: cf. Ulpian in *Digest* XII, 1, 9, 1, which, however, is held to be certainly interpolated. But the reference may be to *iusiurandum*, the field of which is very uncertain (see Buckland, *Textbook of Roman Law*[2], p. 633, note 8).

The marginal gloss against these lines may have been on *synallagma*, the Greek common word from early times for *agreement* and later used as the translation of *contractus* (it occurs twice in the *Digest*, II, 14, 7, 2 and L, 16, 19); assuming that it was written in Latin, we could read in ll. 1–2 [. . . *s*]*u*[*nal*]*l*[*a*]*g*(*ma*) *v*(*er*)*b*(*um*). Only the bottom part of the *g* is visible, so that, if a mark of abbreviation was placed after or above it, it could not be seen. Unfortunately in l. 3 of the gloss *gener*(*ale*) cannot be read for *cener*, but a scribal error is not impossible. In *Digest* XII, 1, 1, 1 we have both *generalis appellatio* and *verbum generale*.

16. If the two letters before *potu* belong to the preceding sentence (and]*i̯t* could be read instead of]*u̯t*), *potu*[*it eni*]*im* might be read, though we should expect *enim* to be abbreviated; see however l. 20, where, if the supplement is correct, only three letters are missing and we should expect at least four on the analogy of other lines.

21. *ī* · should stand for *id* or *in*; but the former is too emphatic and leaves *quicquid* without a verb, while the latter would give us *nam pecuniae appellatione quicquid in patrimonio in significatione*, which, though the verb might be postponed, is an intolerable sentence. It is possible that the scribe intended to write *ē* · *est*, cf. the confusion in l. 13. Alternatively, *inest* would give good sense, but there is no case of it being abbreviated in this form.

22. That some part of *emere* or a derivative stood here is likely; but *em*[*p*]*t*[*io*, *em*[*p*]*t*[*um* and *em*[*i*]*t* seem equally possible.

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475. GRAECO-LATIN JURISTIC FRAGMENTS.

Acquired in 1917. Frag. (a) 6 × 5 cm. Fifth century.

PLATE 4.

Two fragments, very probably of the same leaf, of a papyrus codex, with two smaller pieces. The text is written partly in Greek, partly in Latin, and probably belongs to a Greek scholastic work on Roman law, in which quotations from Latin jurists were admitted. Texts of this type are by no means unknown; apart from this text and **476**, the two most recent additions are the scholia published by A. Segrè in *Studi Bonfante* III, pp. 421 sq., and the series of questions and answers on Latin legal terms (no doubt used for teaching purposes) edited by Schönbauer in *Aegyptus*, XIII, pp. 621 sq.[1] The best-known of these texts and that to which **475** has the closest resemblance, is the 'Scholia Sinaitica' (ed. Teubner ser., Seckel-Kuebler, *Jurisprudentia Ante-Justiniana*, ii, 2), anonymous papyrus fragments of the fifth or sixth century dealing with the *ius tutelae* and the *ius matrimonii*; indeed the similarity both in form and content suggests that the two texts belong to the same work.

Greek marginalia—one of which, in ll. 15 sq., gives the only consecutive sense yielded by the fragment—have been added by a second hand, which was also responsible for the note above l. 4. Abbreviations are numerous and not all, as yet, elucidated; the methods of indicating them are so various that I have though it worth while to reproduce them immediately below the text. A middle point is used either for punctuation or perhaps to

[1] See the same scholar's discussion of the text in *Sav. Z.* (*R. A.*), 53 (1933), pp. 451 sq., in which references will be found to similar texts.

indicate (see note to l. 1) the end of a Latin quotation. A sign ·/. is found above l. 11, probably to draw attention to a marginal scholium. The margin of the page was at least 5 cm. wide; there are no means of calculating the dimensions of the codex. The Greek hand, which is upright and regular and shows some signs of Latin influence, is hardly likely to be later than the fifth century, nor does the Latin script demand a later date. The citation of the jurist Vivianus in ll. 11 and 12 is a strong, though not conclusive, indication of a date before Justinian.

The subject of fragment (a) recto is apparently *libertas fideicommissaria*; the verso mentions *dos* and perhaps *legata* (see note to l. 10). The Greek scholium on fragment (b) recto is concerned with a will and with *dos*. We seem, therefore, to have recovered fragments of a treatise *de legatis et fideicommissis*.

Frag. (a).

Recto.

. . . . .

] . toros · επ̣[
ελευ]θεριαν παρασ( ) [.]ν̣τ̣ε̣[
ελευ]θερ(ιας) o( )i f(idei)c(ommis)sarias τετρ( ) [
αντι του·
]α̣ζομεν( ) οταν εξ( ) ητο[
5 ο]ταν γαρ τα απογρ̣[αφ
]ιζοντ( ) α̣[
]π[

. . . . .

Verso.

. . . . .

] . ṭ[. .]xi
]τ̣ινα - τον [
] [
10]κα καλως p(rae) deleg[atis
]προιξ τ̆ο̆τε Viviạ[nus
] ε
] ( )η̣ γυνη ‹Vivi[anus
] p̣atri [

. . . . .

Frag. (b).

Recto.

] . [
15 [.]λα την patris [. .] [
. . . Sab( ) σκοπος τω
testatori τον αδελ ρο[
φον παντος κερ της [
δενειν την προικα
εν συνεστωτει τω και ε[
γαμω τελευτωσης τα · α . [
της αδελφ(ης) καλως
20 [. .] . [. .]ς̣ π̣α̣ι̣ [. . .]ν caṇ[

. . . . .

Verso.

. . . . .

]ξ̣α̣
]et
]ρι̣κ σημ(ειωσαι) ωρ(αιον)
ε]π̣αρκ( ) ∫̆
] . παι
]ο̣ν

. . . . .

Frag. (c).

Recto.

]ṭoroṣ[
]a[.] . [

. . .

Verso.

] τ̣η ουσ̣[
] εστιν [

. . .

Frag. (d).

Recto.

. . . .

]ερτα p[

Verso.

. . . .

] . τ̣[.]ρ̣ν̣ [

2. παρασ/ P. 3.]θερ· ŏι f̄c τετρ/ P. 4.]α̣ζομεν· ε&. P. 6.]ιζοντ͗ P. 10. p̀ P. 12.]η̆ P. 15.] . . · sab̄ P. 16. l. πάντως κερδαίνειν 19. l. συνεστῶτι 20. αδελφ. P. 22. σημ̄ ꝺ. P. 23]π̣αρϛ P.

1. Perhaps *a]ctoris* should be read here; *testatoris* at any rate is impossible. *Actoros* might be explained on the ground that the scribe, being more accustomed to Greek than to Latin, wrote by mistake the Greek instead of the Latin genitive termination. Apart from *toros*, which seems impossible in the context, there is no Latin word which could stand here. Apparently the same word recurs in l. 26 (see note *ad loc.*). The point after this word is in the papyrus and may indicate a transition from Latin to Greek, as perhaps in l. 19 from Greek to Latin.

3. *ŏι*: to this form of abbreviation in Latin texts I can find no parallel. In Steffens, *Lateinische Paläographie*, p. xxxiv, abbreviations of the type m̊ = *modo*, n̊ = *noster* are given, but in this case the mark above the line (which is indistinguishable from the usual mark of short quantity) can hardly be meant for *u*. A similar form of abbreviation may be noticed in the Greek of the *Scholia Sinaitica*, e.g. μ̄ = μετά in 52 (19). Perhaps *omni* should be read.

Too many resolutions of τετρ( ) are possible for a conjecture to be worth while.

4. The point after του is in the papyrus. The point after]αζομεν might be for punctuation; but in view of the repeated οταν it is unlikely.

8. It is not certain whether the letters in this line are Latin or Greek; for *xi* might be read χ̣ι̣, but the χ would normally extend a little below the line.

9. The purpose of the short line drawn after τινα is not clear, unless it is another form of abbreviation.

10. If *p̀* is taken, according to normal usage, to stand for *prae*, the reading in the transcription (which might, however, be *praedelegatis*) must stand. One would wish to read either *de legatis* or *praelegatis; praelegatum dotis* is a common expression.

11. Vivianus, a second-century (?) jurist, is chiefly quoted by Ulpian. The sign above τοτε probably refers to a marginal note.

12. The mark above the first *V* of Vivianus may be intended to indicate a quotation.

15. λα τηv are probably to be separated; no suitable Greek word suggests itself.

In the next line, it is highly improbable (though the reading is not quite impossible) that the first two letters were *ad* and consequently *ad Sabinum* should be read; the point before *Sab*( ) would be unexplained, and there is no room for the name of a commentator and hardly for *l*(*ibro*) followed by a numeral between *patris* and these letters. The same abbreviation, *Sab*( ), was placed before certain notes in the *Scholia Sinaitica* and is variously explained (see Seckel-Kuebler, *op. cit.*, p. 462) as referring to *Sabatius*, who is mentioned in Novel 35 (A.D. 535) as having assisted Tribonianus, or (more probably)[1] as the name of a scholiast and possibly editor of the whole work. However it be interpreted, it is likely that the same jurist is quoted here.

16. Between the ο and the ν of τον, the scribe has placed a horizontal linking stroke (not found elsewhere), which gives the word a strange appearance: but τηv (and consequently the correction of αδελφον to αδελφηv) cannot be read.

18. κερδεv(-αιv)ειv τηv προικα, i.e. *dotem lucri facere, lucrari*; the phrase is common in this connexion.

19. εv συvεστωτει(-ι) τω γαμω. These words occur twice in the *Scholia Sinaitica*, 13 (35), and are rendered *constante matrimonio*.

If these words go with the following τελευτωσης της αδελφ(ης) the marriage referred to must be that of the sister. But it seems a contradiction to speak of a woman dying *constante matrimonio*; we must presume the writer to have meant, *if the sister dies without her marriage having been previously dissolved* (i.e. by the husband's death or by divorce). Even so, the use of the present participle, τελευτωσης, is surprising; perhaps the Latin which the scholiast had to render was *si soror constante matrimonio decesserit*. But the break in the sentence might come after κερδεvειv or after γαμω. Zulueta suggests, very tentatively, the following reconstruction of the case: the testator (father?) had given *dos* to the sister (his daughter?) on the terms that it should revert to him at the end of the marriage. By will he seeks to secure that if the marriage terminates by the death of the wife (sister?), the *dos* should go to her brother. This would leave children unprovided for; the letters π̣α̣ι̣ may indicate that this point was dealt with.

22. σημ(είωσαι) ὡρ(αῖον) are found together in the *Scholia Sinaitica* 10 (27), and in separation elsewhere in the same work.

26. Frag. (c) may possibly have been attached to frag. (a), in which case l. 26 will continue l. 1 after a gap of some letters (and the repetition makes this not improbable) and l. 27 will continue l. 2, while on the verso ll. 28 and 29 will precede ll. 8 and 9, again with a gap of two or three letters intervening. Traces of a line extending to the left can be seen above the *to* of *toros*.

476. REGISTER OF *CONSTITUTIONES*.

Acquired in 1920. 10·9 × 12·4 cm. Fourth to fifth century.

A plate of this text, accompanied with a brief palaeographical account, appeared in E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, II, no. 225; it was there described as *Chronicon*

[1] So Huschke, cited in *op. cit.*, p. 462; Girard, *Textes de Droit romain*[5], p. 609; Krueger, *Collectio Juris Anteiustiniani*, iii, p. 267.

Graeco-Latinum, a conclusion to which the arrangement of the text in short paragraphs, the numeration and the semi-historical character of the entries (e.g. the ὁσίῳ ἐπισκό(πῳ) of l. 39 suggested an allusion to Eusebius) seemed to point. But a closer study of the text than was then possible revealed that the vocabulary was predominantly legal, and that all the entries, as far as they were intelligible, were concerned with legal matters; hence the suggestion, first made by Dr. H. I. Bell and approved by Professor de Zulueta, that **476** is a fragment of a register or summary of imperial constitutions, has been adopted. For example, the entry of which only the beginning is preserved in ll. 40 sq. is addressed ἄρχοντ(ι) Ἠπείρου, with which we may compare Cod. Theod. 16, 2, 22 (A.D. 372), addressed *ad Paulinum praesidem Epiri Novae*. The text is mainly in Greek, but the prescript in l. 34 and certain key words in all the entries are in Latin, as is the case in the *Scholia Sinaitica* (see introd. to **475**). It is difficult to go beyond this general description as it appears likely that a considerable part of each line is missing and what is left is written in a blurred and faded brown ink. Hence the subject of the entries is, as a rule, obscure; but that of ll. 3–6 is fairly clearly *reparatio temporum* (ἀνανέωσις τῶν χρόνων), that is, the indulgence of extra time that could be granted to a plaintiff or an appellant who had forfeited his claim by having failed to proceed within the utmost period allowed by the general law. The use of proclamation by herald is natural enough in this connexion, but not evidenced elsewhere than in Just. *Nov.* 112, 3, pr. (see P. Collinet, *La procédure par libelle* (Paris, 1932), pp. 380, 383–4). *Reparatio* could be granted by rescript; thus *dia rescriptum* in l. 7 may refer to the same subject. For the question of the content of this entry, see note to l. 10.

The book appears to be written with two columns to the page; but the writing in col. i of the verso and, to a less extent, that in col. ii of the recto is somewhat smaller than that in the other two columns, although by the same hand; hence it is possible that these two columns are really marginal notes. The space between the columns, or between text and notes, is very small. The same scribe wrote both the Greek and the Latin; the former is in a small, square hand, obviously influenced by the Latin script (e.g. the δ is purely Latin in form), the latter is an early variety of half-uncial, in which the *r* with the upright descending below the line is notable. The margin above the first line of the verso measures 3·5 cm., that above the first line of the recto only 1 cm.

Recto.

]igịṇ . τ̣ο̣ . ενετι [
] . ρων α̣ . ο̣σ̣ . κ̣ . . ε̣σ̣[

] ε̣κ̣π̣ε̣σουσι των χρονων
α]ν̣α̣δ[ι]δοσθαι repara
] δια του κηρυκος ισα̣ λοι̣
] . [. . .]ων συνηγορουντων

]en . . ẹde dia rescriptu
]ḍ[.] . . . [. . . .] . .
]ω̣ναριον αρχοντ̣ι̣ προς ει̣σ̣
]ε τοις επαρχοις η αυτους αι

. . .
. φ[
μονον [
. ι̣ω̣̆ . dure [
ρα̣τ̣ . φ̣ν̣α̣ [
[
[
[
ο εταιρος ο[
κ̣(αι) ω̣ν εστ[
μ̣ε̣[

] δ̣ι̣καστας ει γαρ κακως τη[
] ο̣ αρχων εξεστιν αυτ̣ο(ις)
]σθαι
. . . .

Verso.

]μ̊ λ̣η̣ $\overline{\text{VI}}$
]ν̣ι̣ ση . [.] $^{\iota\delta}$. Maximo consideranti [
] . λ π̄ ο̄
]ṃendis εστιν δε εν τη διαταξει ι̣[. . .] ε̣ [
]ε̣ . τινα δι εαυτου μεθοδευ[ει]ν τον δ̣[
]ρ̣ ra αλλα κεχρησθαι τοις̣ ε̣ν . . . [
] σιο̣υ χρε̣ο̣υ̣ς̣
] ∫ οσ`ι´ω επισκο(πω) cumulari p(er) ḍẹ[
] $\overline{\phi\kappa}$
. . .
$\overline{\phi\kappa\alpha}$ αρχοντ(ι) Ηπει conṣo . dịạẹ [
ρου
μ̊ τη φ . [.] . . α̣ρχη̣ .
γενομ̣εν( ) σ̣ου
. . . . .

4. *Reparatio*: see Cod. Theod. II, 6; XI, 30, 31, 32, and Cod. Just. VII, 63; a summary of the legislation will be found in Gothofredus *Paratitlon* to Cod. Theod. XI, 30, for which see the edition of the latter by Ritter (Leipzig, 1736), IV, pp. 292–3. For an example of the use of the phrase ἀνανέωσις τῶν χρόνων see P. Lips 33 = Meyer, *Juristische Papyri*, 88, 6. References to further literature will be found in M. A. von Bethmann-Hollweg, *Der Römische Civilprozess*, 3, pp. 237, 330, 337, and Meyer, *loc. cit.* ἐκπεσοῦσι τῶν χρόνων as a translation of *iis qui temporibus exciderint* occurs in the Basilica (ed. Heimbach), I, p. 441.

5. At the end of this line ⟨ε⟩ις ο or ⟨ε⟩ις ο̣λο[κληρ- might perhaps be read, though α̣ is preferable to ο̣.

7. δια is written in Latin characters, as is also the δ of διαταξει in l. 36. There is no sign of abbreviation after the *u* of *rescriptu*, nor is there room for an *m* after it.

9. Perhaps λεγι]ω̣ναριον; but there are other possibilities.

10. αἱρεῖσθαι might be supplied at the end of the line, though this is no more than a guess. The alternative to η αυτους κτλ. seems more likely to have followed than to have preceded it, in which case the ει γαρ of l. 11 may introduce a parenthesis to the effect that if the *praeses* select badly (κακως), he may be held responsible. It is possible that we are still dealing with the subject of *reparatio*, for the plaintiff might forfeit his claim by lapse of time caused by the delays of the court (see Cod. Theod. II, 6, 2).

16. The letter above the ω in this line may be either a correction or else some form of abbreviation, cf. **475**, 3, note.

17. The fifth letter in this line resembles the sign often used for ὡραῖον (though in l. 31 of this text the head of the ρ is distinctly visible); here it is probably either a correction or an abbreviation. It is just possible that the word in question is *rationalis* in Greek characters.

25. μ̊ presumably = ὁμ(οίως), as in l. 42.

26. ση: perhaps for ση(μείωσαι).

35. One would expect this to be an abbreviation of some word derived from the root of πόλις, e.g. πολ(ιτευομένῳ), but it is possible that here it is a contracted form of some proper name.

36. διάταξις = *imperial rescript*, is, according to Meyer (*op. cit.* 54, 18 note), found chiefly in the papyri, but does occur elsewhere, e.g. *Digest*, XXVII, 1, 2, 4. Here we should expect it to be followed by the name of the emperor or by some other qualification ; if it was, probably about half the line was missing.

37. μεθοδευειν : in the sense *to exact, collect* as in Justinian, Cod. Just. I, 3, 38, 2 (date uncertain) ; VII, 51, 5, 4 (A.D. 487) ; X, 19, 9, 1 (A.D. 496).

39. The letters written above this line are probably by way of annotation rather than correction ; the first word may have been δημο]σιον. *Per* is abbreviated $\bar{p}$.

The numeral $\overline{\phi\kappa}$ appears to belong rather to col. i than to col. ii. If it belongs to col. ii, it is written at the end, not at the beginning of a paragraph, unless this line begins a new entry ; but if so, it consists of one line only and there is no space between it and the preceding entry. $\overline{\phi\kappa\alpha}$, however, is clearly placed against l. 40 ; $\overline{\phi\kappa}$ probably appears in the position it does because the scribe did not insert it until the paragraph had been written and then found he had not left enough space between the columns.

40. The letter read as an *s* after *con* might be a mark of abbreviation.

477. CICERO, *DIVINATIO IN Q. CAECILIUM.*

Acquired in 1920. 40·3 × 29 cm. Fifth century.

This bifolium, containing part of sections 35–7 and 44–6 of the *Divinatio*, is the most substantial contribution to the text of the Verrines yet made by the papyri ; the other fragments of these speeches are P. S. I. 20 (II, 1, 60–3), P. Iand. V, 90 (II, 2, 3–4), P. Oxy. VIII, 1097 (II, 1, 1–4), and X, 1251 (II, 2, 3, and 12). The bifolium must have been the one next to the centre of the quire, as the amount of text intervening between the two leaves would occupy exactly four pages. An intact leaf probably measured 20·5 × 29 cm., with an upper margin of 5 cm. and a lower margin of 6 cm. The text is written in a consistent and regular half-uncial (except for *a* which is uncial), assigned by Dr. E. A. Lowe to the fifth century (a plate showing part of Folio 2 verso, with a brief description, has appeared in his *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, II, no. 226) ; the hand is not unlike that of P. S. I. 20, but is heavier and more regular. The scribe used the usual red-brown ink of the period ; parts of the text were only legible with the help of a mercury vapour lamp, which also disclosed the existence of some scholia barely visible to the naked eye. At the end of sentences, where the pause in sense is considerable, the writer leaves a gap of some four or five letters ; a new section (according to his system) always begins on a new line and with an enlarged initial letter projecting into the margin. The text has been heavily annotated, the bulk of the notes and glosses being written in a small, slightly sloping Greek hand, probably contemporary with the text, which has faded badly. This scribe (B) also wrote Latin, as the third and fourth lines of the Latin scholium on ll. 13–14, and perhaps also *dicere* in l. 9, are in his hand. Most of the Latin scholia, however, are attributable to a different scribe (C), who used a black carbon ink and wrote a small, semi-cursive hand. As he has in a few places inked over not only the text but B's scholia as well, he wrote later than B ; he is also responsible for the occasional punctuation, for corrections (either by cancellation or expunction) and additions to the text, for some of the marks of long quantity (others were inserted by the original scribe, A), and for one or

two circumflex accents on Latin words. A few Greek glosses on Folio 2 recto were added by another scribe (D), while *scopuloso*—written in the top left-hand corner of Folio 1 verso—is in yet another hand (E). The Greek annotations, with the exception of the first half of the long note on *indicium* (l. 14 sq.), and perhaps one or two other notes on the same page, consist of translations or adaptations of the Latin text, less elementary and unintelligent than such notes in Latin papyri often are; the Latin notes, and the few Greek exceptions mentioned above, in manner and occasionally in substance resemble those of Pseudo-Asconius, which are dated to the fourth or fifth century. The scholium on *indicium* in **477** suggests that it and Pseudo-Asconius may have had a common source, while that on *petitiones* (l. 53) suggests that the writer was acquainted either with Servius or with a source of Servius.

For the *Divinatio* and for the *Actio Prima* we have no MS. of the first class; the tradition rests on Codex Parisinus 7823 (D), written in the fifteenth century and itself copied from Codex Parisinus 7775 (S) of the thirteenth century, before the latter was mutilated. These, in the Teubner edition of A. Klotz, with which the papyrus has been collated, comprise the α class; the β class consists of three MSS., one, P, of the eleventh century, two, Q and H, of the fifteenth century. Hence early evidence for the text is particularly welcome. In five places, obvious errors excluded, **477** gives a reading not recorded elsewhere; of these *demonstrarent* in l. 18 is perhaps worth consideration, while the surprising addition *modo altercandum* in l. 45 has much to recommend it; whether the omission of *constitutam* in l. 72 is regarded as plausible depends on whether in that clause the reading of the MSS., which also seems to have been the reading of the *corrector* of **477**, or the emendation of Gronovius, which is the reading of the first hand of **477**, but which demands *constitutam*, is adopted. On one occasion **477** agrees with the β group against D, in reading *me* in l. 52—an addition which is generally adopted by editors. It lends no support to two deletions by Hirschfelder. The scribe's orthography is, on the whole, good; but he writes *paresertim* for *praesertim* in l. 28 and *constuere* for *constituere* in l. 65; in ll. 49–50 *numquam* and *nunquam* are found together.

Scholia and corrections in the third hand (C) are printed in italic type.

Folio 1. Recto.

ciebat qụ[e]ṃ [ad]ṃ[o]ḍ[um] [[.]] dẹfẹ[nsu]ṛụṣ [e]ṣ — . . . . λ̣ . . [.] . . ν̣α̣ . . ο̣ς̣ τ̣ο̣υ̣ . . . . [. . . .] . ο̣μ̣ . . ουκ ο̣υ̣

set non repẹṛ[ie]ḅat ∽ *h(oc) est m[anif]ẹsta sunt* — . . . . . ο̣ υπο λογων

Adque ego ḥạẹc̣ quae [i]n medio po[sit]a sunt — . . . . . φεσ̣ε̣ι̣τ̣α

commemo[r]ọ ṣ[un]ṭ a[li]ạ ṃạg̣ịṣ occulta fur *obscura*

ta q[u]ae ịḷḷ[e] ụṭ ịṣṭ[iu]ṣ c̣ṛẹḍọ [anim]ọṣ atq(ue) *verres* *caecili* — . . . . . ο̣υς και Τ̣υ̣λ̣λ̣ιος . . . ε̣ρ̣ . . . . ε̣π̣ι̣ του Κεκιλιου ελεγχου

5 *α̣μβλυ νει* impetus rẹṭạ[r]ḍ[a]ṛẹ[t] b[e]nignissime cum

§ 34 qu[ae]ṣṭ[ore suo comm]ụnicavit haec tu

scis ad me [ess]ẹ [delata quae] ṣị ṿẹḷim profer — ε̣π̣ . . . δ̣ε̣ρ̣ . . σ̣ . . α̣τ̣ . ε̣διδα ε̣ . . .

ḍ[i]c̣ere

ạ̣π̣ạ̣ν[τ]ε̣ς
νοειτ̣ε̣
ησ̣αν . .
χρημ̣α̣
τα δε κλ[ε]
ψας̣ ουδε
μερισας̣
[. . . .] ε̣π̣ι
[. . . .]μο
[. . . .] . ε̣λ̣υ̣
[. . . . .] . ι̣
[. . . . .]υ
[. . . . .] .
[. . . . .]α̣σ̣
[. . . . . .]
δ α̣υ α̣λλ̣[οτ]
ρι . α ηδε
σαν γαρ π̣[.] .
[.]δ̣[ ] ελλ̣[. .]
[. .] παυ̣
§ 35 [. .]ως
[. . .] τη .
[. . . . .]θαι
[. .] ρο[υ]ς
[. . .]ρησαν
. . ρ̣[.]α̣του
του φ̣η̣
ν̣αι̣ . ε̣ν̣
. . [
. . . . .

re facile oṃ[nes intellige]nt vobis in
ter vos n[on] mọ[do vol]ụ[n]ṭạṭ[em] ḟ[ui]sse
coniuṇ[ctam se]d ne pr[a]edam qụ[ide]m adhuc
esse ḍ[ivisam] qu[a] pr[op]tẹ[r si t]ibi in
diciụ[m pos]tulas fie[ri] q̣uoḍ ṭec[um] ụṇa
fecẹṛịṭ c[on]cedo s[i id le]ge [pe]ṛṃ[ittit]ur
sin autẹṃ [de accusatione di]c̣[imu]ṣ coṇ
cedas o[po]ṛ[tet iis qui nullo suo pecca]to
imped[i]ụṇ[tur quomi]nus al[te]r[ius pe]cca
ṭạ ḍemons[trare]ṇṭ
At vide quan[tum in]terfuturum sit ịṇṭer
meam tuạṃq(ue) [a]ccusationem ego
τ̣η̣ν λειạν
etiam q̣ụ[ae] tu s[i]ṇẹ [ve]ṛre commisisti ver
ri cri[mini] ḍaṭurụ[s s]um quod te non

index est communis criminis
nam legibus vetitum erat senatorem ferre indiç[ium]
νομος ην παρα Ρωμαι[οις]
ω̣ς̣ ο̣τ̣ε δυο ημ̣αρτον π̣ε̣[ρι]
τι ιδιωτα̣ι̣ μ̣ε̣[ν]ο̣ν̣τ̣ε̣ς̣
ο̣ιον φονον πο̣[ιη]σ̣[α]ν
(5) των ει ο εις καταμη
νυση το αμαρτημα οτ[ι]
τοδε μετα τουδε η̣μ̣αρ
τον τον μεν καταμη
νυσαντα μη̣ τ̣ι̣[μω]ρει
(10) σθαι αλλα μισθον εχειν
της καταμηνυσεως
την συ⟨γ⟩γνωμ̣η̣ν̣ τον
μεντοι καταγγελθεν
τα κολαζεσθαι ε̣ι̣ μ̣ε̣ν̣
(15) τοι δυο ημαρτο̣ν̣ συγ̣
κλητικοι και ο καταμη
νυσας τιμ̣ω̣[ρει]τ̣α̣ι̣ υ̣π̣ο̣
μενε̣ . τ̣ι̣μ̣ . [.]ο̣[. . .] . [. .]
καταμηνυθη̣ν̣α̣ι̣ τ̣ο̣υ̣τ̣ω̣
(20) ουδ . . . . πολ̣ο̣[.]α̣ς̣

κ̣ο̣ι̣ν̣ω̣νη̣σαντα τ̣ο̣υ̣τ̣ω α̣μ̣[αρ]τη̣μ̣ατω̣ν̣ οτι
[ε]χ̣ρην κ̣α̣τ̣α̣μηνυσαι βουλε̣ι̣ π̣ . ω̣μ̣α̣ν ε̣ . . [. .]
πραγματευε̣σ̣θ̣α̣ι̣ εγω μεν τ̣[ο] σον εικενα̣ι̣ εσ̣ο̣μ̣α̣ι̣ ε̣
κ̣ω̣ν̣ ου κωλυει δε σ̣ε̣ τυχειν̣ συ⟨γ⟩γνωμης ο νομος
(25) ως συγκλητικον συγκλητικος γαρ ων ουκ ωφει̣λ̣ε̣ς̣
αμαρτανειν̣ . . μ̣εν . . ι π̣ερ̣ι̣ τ̣ουτο αλ̣λα ως αυτο[ς]
τοις̣ Σ̣ικ̣ε̣λοις συνηγορων β̣ουλει κατηγορειν
[η μα]λ̣λ̣ο̣ν̣ της συνηγοριας παραχωρ̣η̣σ̣αι
τ̣ω̣ δυναμενω καλως και μ̣ετα πα⟨ρ⟩ρη̣σιας
(30) κ̣α̣τ̣[ηγ]ορειν καθαρον γαρ εχω το συν̣ε̣ι̣δ̣ος
ο̣υ̣ δ̣υ̣ν̣α̣σαι συ γαρ κοινωνος αυτω των αδικη
ματων

Folio 1. Verso.

scopuloso

prohibụ[e]ṛịṭ cụṃ ṣụṃṃ[a]ṃ [ip]ṣẹ ḥ[a]beret
]ρ̣[. . .]ν̣η̣ν̣ potesta[te]m tu contra ne quae ille qui
dem fecit ọbịc̣ịẹs ne qua ex parte coni[u]n
ε̣υ̣ρ̣ε̣θ̣η̣ς̣ ctus cum eo [re]p̣[eri]ạṛẹ quid illa
cạ[e]c̣ịḷị [co]ṇṭẹ[mnend]ạṇẹ ṭ[i]bi videṇtur
esṣe [[n]]{e} ṣị̀*né* q̣uibus c̣[ausa susti]ṇeri parẹṣẹr
tim tantạ nulḷ[o modo potest a]ḷiqua facul
tas agen[di] ạḷị[qua dicendi c]ọnsuetudo ạl[i]
qụa ịṇ f[o]ṛọ iụ[di]c̣[iis legibus a]u[t ra]t[io] aut

] . ạ . ασ̣ι̣ạ .
§ 36 δ̣ε̣ ου̣τω̣ λε̣γει̣

σ̣κοπελω̣ δυσ
χερει πραγματι
απο μ̣ε̣τ̣αφορας
[. . . . . .]κ̣ο̣ντων
. . ρ̣ο̣ [. . .] των

[ε]παχθεσ̣τ̣α̣τ̣ο̣ν̣
. τιν[.] ο̣φ . ρ̣ . ο̣κ̣η̣
[.]ω[.] κ̣α̣ι̣ ε̣θ̣η̣ ε . . ν̣υνο̣
[. . . .]ο̣τι α̣θ̣λο̣ν̣ π̣ε̣ρ̣[ι]
τ̣ο̣υ̣τω̣ν̣ α̣[υτ]ι̣κα χρ̣[.]
. οις α̣ρ̣ . . . . . και δι̣
α̣[. . .] . τ̣α̣ . . . υλ̣ .
τ̣ε ως ο̣ι̣κια ε̣σ̣τιν
[.]α τουτου εχοντ̣ο̣ς
. ω̣ . ν̣ομιζ̣ομα̣ι [π]
ρ̣ος ελεον ε̣ . .
ματα ταδε του
πλουσ̣ι̣ο̣υ̣ . . . . . ε̣
ξωθ̣εν τιμ̣ης
§ 37 εστιν

]λ̣η̣ . [
ε̣ρ̣ιδ̣α̣

exercit[a]ṭịọ [i]ṇtellị[go qu]am scọpụ
loso dif[fici]ḷị[q]ụe in loco ve[r]ṣ[er nam] c̣um
omṇịṣ [arro]gạṇtia [o]ḍịọsa est tu[m illa] inge
nịị aṭq̣[ue] elo[q]ueṇṭị[ae multo] ṃolesṭịṣ
ṣịṃạ q̣[uam] [ob rem nihil dico de m]eo in
geniọ [neque est quod possim dicer]e ṇẹ
que si [e]sset dị[c]ẹṛ[em aut enim id m]ịḥị [sa]
tis est quod est dẹ ṃe [opinioni]s quidquid
est aut si id parum eṣ[t] egō [m]aị[u]ṣ [i]ḍ c̣ọmme
mora[[.]]*nd'*o facerẹ non posṣu[m]
Dẹ te c̣ạecili [iam] [m]ẹḥẹṛ[cu]le hoc [extr]a hanc
contentionem certamenq̣[ue nostrum]

utruṃ ṣịḅi
. p̣ạ . [.]ṭạṇ ụ . .
trẹṇṭ . . ṃ

[.]π̣ọ̣ . . [. .]
κ̣ο̣ν̣ε̣ν̣α̣ι̣
. . λ̣ι̣π̣ . υ[ ]
. . σου . χ[. .]
δοξ̣α̣ και̣ τ̣ . . υ̣σ̣η̣
[. .] α̣π̣ọ̣[. . .]

Folio 2. Verso.

cum quo *dis[se]ṛẹṇdum*
§ 44 certamen· quicum· moḍ[o di]ṣsẹṛenḍụṃ
modo altercandum modo ọ[mni] ratiône
pugnandum certandum[q]ụẹ [s]ịṭ.
Cuiụṣ ego ingenium ita laudo ụṭ [no]ṇ [pe]rti
mescam : ita probo ut mē ab e[o d]electari
facilius qụ[a]ṃ decipi pụteṃ p[o]sse num
quam ille mē opprimet consiḷ[i]o nunq[uam]
ullo arṭ[i]ficio perveṛṭẹṭ [n]uṃ[quam inge]
nịo m[e] sụọ labefactaṛ[e a]ṭ[que infirma]
re conaḅitur· novi om[nis hominis pe] *proprie petitiones ad gladiatores pertinet*
tịṭioṇẹ̄ṣ ṛationesque d[ic]ẹ[ndi]. sa[epe in is]
d[em s]aepe ịṇ contrariis caus[i]s v[ersati su]
ad
muṣ ita contrā mē ilḷẹ ḍịc̣ẹṭ [quamvis]
sit ingeniosus ut non[nullum etiam]
dē suo [in]genio iud[i]ciụ[m fieri arbitretur]
]ε̣π̣ . .
§ 45]π̣ου
Te verọ [ ]
. . . . . .

Folio 2. Recto.

ụṭṛum d[i]x[eris] ịḍ contra te futurum q̣ụị ṭị
οιαι σ̣οι ζαλαι [bi] ạestu[s q]ui ẹṛ[r]ọṛ q̣ụạe ṭẹṇẹbrae [di immo]ṛ
tạ[l]ẹṣ eruṇt homini minimẹ [mal]ō *in . [*
et . . [. a]ḷịụḍ . . ṛet
Q̣ụ]ịḍ [c]ụṃ [acc]usatiônis tuae membra d[ivi]ḍẹ
ṛe coep[erit] et in digitis, suis singulas par

tes causae c̣ọṇṣt⟨it⟩uere quid [cu]ṃ unumquid
[qu]ẹ transigẹre expedire absolvẹṛẹ· ipse
κινδυνω [profe]c̣[to] ṃetuẹ[re in]cipieṣ ne inṇ[o]c̣enti
περιβαλης
§ 46 [periculu]ṃ facẹṣṣẹṛis· quid cum [c]ọṃmise ~
[rari conq]uẹṛ[i] ẹṭ ẹx̣ illius invidiạ deo
[nerare] a[liqui]ḍ et in tē traice[re] c[o]epe ~
[rit com]ṃ[e]morạṛẹ q̣ụạẹst[o]rịṣ cu[m pra]e
m
[tore necess]ịtudinem morẹ maiorụṃ sor
[tis religion]ẹ· poterisne eius oṛạṭịonis
[subire invidiam] ṿide modo etiam atque
[etiam considera mihi enim vi]ḍ[etu]ṛ per
[iculum fore ne ille non modo verbi]ṣ [t]ẹ̄
. . . . . .

3. The *e* of *ego* has been corrected in black ink.

7. There seem to be too few letters to fill the gap; there may have been a correction.

9. The papyrus does not support Hirschfelder's rejection of *vobis*.

There appears to be an omission in the Greek scholium on this passage (ll. 9 sqq.). After *νοειτ̣ε̣* (the second person may be due to the *vobis inter vos* of the text) we should expect *οτι φιλοι μεν ησαν*, or something of the kind; probably a line or two has fallen out after *νοειτε*. Three lines later perhaps *δε ⟨ε⟩κλεψαν̣* should be read. In 12 margin *μερισαν* cannot be read.

13. *fie*[*ri*]: *dari* MSS. *Facere indicium* is by no means uncommon, e.g. Cicero, *Pro Flacco*, 40: *sed tamen indicium fieri videatur cum tabulae illae . . . proferuntur*; but where, as here, *indicium* means 'permission to give evidence (against an accomplice)' rather than 'evidence', *dare* is obviously more suitable. For the position of the *index* in Roman criminal law, see Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht*, 504.

In substance, the scholia attached to **477** agree with that of Pseudo-Asconius on this passage; on one point, the position of a senator who wished to turn *index*, they appear to have been fuller than the latter, but here the text fails us. The comment of Pseudo-Asconius on the passage (T. Stangl, *Ciceronis Orationum Scholiastae*, II, p. 197) runs as follows: *Certa sunt in quibus impunitas indici datur; in causa proditionis, maiestatis, et si quid huiusmodi est. Certae enim personae sunt quae indices fieri possint. Itaque neque repetundarum causa per indices agi solet, neque senatoria persona potest indicium profiteri salvis legibus. Index est autem qui facinoris cuius ipse est socius latebras indicat impunitate proposita. Est autem sensus: 'Index potes esse, si tibi hoc licet; accusator de qua re agimus, esse non potes'. Satis contumeliose tamquam levem hominem exagitavit Caecilium.* In our text the third and fourth lines of the Latin were apparently written by the scribe responsible for the Greek scholium, and were then partly rewritten by the third hand, C, who added the first two lines of Latin. The second part of the Greek text consists of an explanation and expansion of Cicero's argument. The Greek might be translated as follows: 'There was a law among the Romans to the effect that when two men, being private persons, committed a crime such as murder, if one of those who committed the crime gave information about it, saying, *I have committed this crime with this man*, then the informant was not punished, but as a reward for the information received a pardon; but he who was denounced was punished. If, however, two senators committed a crime, then the informant also is punished . . . (l. 21), because it was his duty to give information. Do you (i.e. Caecilius) wish . . . to take up the case seriously? I (i.e. Cicero) shall be willing to speak your part for you. Does not the law prevent you, as a senator, from receiving pardon? For, as a senator, you ought not to have committed this crime. . . . But do you, on the ground that you yourself are acting for the Sicilians, wish to conduct the prosecution, or do you prefer to hand it over to a man who is in a position to prosecute well and frankly? For I have a clear conscience. You are unable to prosecute him; for you were a partner in his crimes.' It may be noticed that in l. (2) the construction is confused, *ὡς* being followed by an infinitive in l. (9): in l. (19) *καταμηνυθ̣ε̣ι̣ς̣* might be read, but there is not room for a subsequent *υπο τουτου*: in l. (23) *εικεναι* is an odd expression, and is, according to Liddell & Scott, a form only

found in compounds; but no other reading seems possible and presumably ἴημι is used here in the sense of *speaking*.

16. [*pecca*]*to*: the *o* has been corrected by C; the original letter cannot be read.

18. *demons*[*trare*]*nt*: *demonstrare possint* MSS. Though the last two letters are blurred, it is quite certain that they were not followed by another word.

19. *at*: *ac* MSS.

24. Above the *n* of *ne* C has written ƀ.

28. Here the original reading seems to have been *ne si*, which C has corrected to *sine*, but forgot to cross out the *e*.

paresertim: l. *praesertim*.

32. *scopuloso*: this word was picked out by scribe E, no doubt because of its rarity (this is the only instance of a metaphorical use of the word in prose quoted in the dictionaries, though it occurs elsewhere in Cicero in a different sense), and written in the top left-hand corner of the page. The Greek scholium would appear to be a mere adaptation from the Latin; I have found no instance of the use of σκόπελος or its derivatives parallel to *scopuloso* here.

36. The scholium written in the margin against this and the subsequent lines is unfortunately too fragmentary to give much sense; nor is it clear in what way the allusions to wealth and position at the end of the scholium are relevant here. In l. 39 read οικεια; after ελεον we might expect either ρηματα or εγκλημματα, but neither can be read; the letters appear to be ε̣π̣η.

42. Part of a stroke by C is visible above the final *e* of *mehercule*, perhaps an accent, but more probably meant as an *s*.

44. Why *disserendum* should have been written by C above the line, if it already stood in the text, is not clear; perhaps there was a mistake in the initial letters.

45. *modo altercandum*: these words are not found in any other MS., nor is anything corresponding to them. In favour of retaining them it might be argued (1) that *altercandum*, either in its non-technical sense of *wrangle, quarrel*, or in the technical sense of *altercatio*, the sharp question and answer of opposing counsel, does occupy a middle place between *disserendum*, which implies no more than 'discussion', and *pugnandum*, and further that, as the text stands in the MSS., the transition is abrupt; (2) that *altercari* is a rare word—it occurs only twice in Cicero, in *Brutus*, 159 and 173—and so is unlikely to have crept into the text as a gloss on the common *disserendum*; (3) that even if it is a gloss, we have to assume a double error to account for the *modo*. For *modo* repeated three times, cf. *Pro Fonteio*, 12.

48. *me* is omitted by D (Parisinus 7823), but is found in MSS. of the β group.

53. For the scholium on *petitiones*, cf. Servius on *Aeneid* ix. 437 *petitiones enim proprie dicimus impetus gladiatorum*.

58. From the end of this line to where Folio 2 Recto begins are 178 letters in Klotz's text, which would occupy exactly 6 lines in our text, thus giving a page of 21 lines.

61. ζάλη is not infrequently used in a metaphorical sense: see Liddell & Scott, s.v.

64. A comma has been inserted by C after *digitis*, to separate it from *suis*; he also inked over the first *s* of *singulas*.

68. Although the letters are blurred, it is clear that **477** read *facesseris* with D, and not the *facessieris* of the β group. Priscian (Keil, *Grammatici Latini*, II, p. 535, 18) quotes the clause with *facesseris*, but adds that *facessieris* is found in some MSS.

69. The papyrus does not support Hirschfelder's deletion of *et*.

72. *necessitudinem constitutam* MSS. The omission is probably accidental, as if *more* and *religione* are read, *constitutam* is essential. But another hand (possibly the same which wrote *scopuloso* at the top of Folio 2 Verso) has added an *m* to *more* and may have done the same in the next line to *religione*. The reading *more . . . religione* was suggested by Gronovius and has been adopted by Klotz and other editors. It might be argued that the reading *morem . . . religionem* arose as an attempt to make sense of a text from which, as in **477**, *constitutam* had already been lost. The evidence of the papyrus is interesting as showing that both readings were current in the fifth century.

73. *orationis*, so the MSS.: *orationi* Pseudo-Asconius. It is conceivable, but highly unlikely, that in the papyrus the words were divided *orationi s|ubire*.

478. VIRGIL, *AENEID I.*

Acquired in 1917 and 1920. Frag. (a) 20·8 × 22·9 cm. Fourth century.

This MS. of *Aeneid I*, accompanied by a word for word Greek translation, has had a chequered history. Fragment (b) was acquired for the Library in 1917; fragments (a) and (c) were purchased from another dealer by the late Professor Grenfell in 1920, while a fourth fragment found its way to Milan and was published in 1927 as *Papiri Milanesi* I. That this forms part of the same codex as **478** and belongs to the same leaf as fragment (b) I was able to establish by a drawing kindly sent me by its editor, Professor Calderini; as it actually connects with fragment (b)—in several cases a word is divided between Manchester and Milan—I have, with his permission, republished the text here (ll. 124–31 and 145–51; words or letters extant only in the Milan fragment are underlined in this edition).

Both Latin and Greek texts were written by the same scribe, the Latin in a handsome half-uncial (*a* and *g* being of the uncial type) in which Greek influence can be noticed, the Greek in a square, heavy hand approximating to the Biblical type. A photograph, with a brief palaeographical description, of fragment (c) has appeared in E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, II, no. 227. The ink is a light-brown in colour and in places (particularly in fragment (b), where the letters are sometimes invisible, though the surface seems hardly damaged) has faded badly; the reading has been much assisted by the use of a violet ray. A few corrections were made in a similar ink and a semi-cursive script; these have been attributed to a second hand, though the original scribe may have been responsible for them. The majority of corrections, however, were added by a third hand and in a black carbon ink, the use of which in literary papyri of this period is almost confined to corrections. The same hand inserted the *paragraphi* to mark the line in which the end of the verse came (on an average a verse of Virgil occupies three lines of text), and has occasionally rewritten letters in the text; the occasional marks of long quantity and *apices* (e.g. in ll. 3, 4, 114; probably only the faded and deranged condition of the papyrus prevents more being recognized) are by the same hand.

Each page contained twelve to thirteen verses of Virgil and, with an average of slightly over three lines of text to a verse, there would have been between thirty-six and forty lines to a page. The upper margin measures 5 cm., and the height and breadth of an intact page of the codex would have been respectively 36 and 24 cm. In fragment (a), verso precedes recto, while in fragments (b) and (c) the reverse is the case; hence we may infer that the latter belonged to the second half of the quire, whereas (a) formed part of the first half. If the codex contained only *Aeneid I*, it would have consisted of some thirty leaves; but in all probability it was more extensive.

It may seem obvious that a text arranged in this fashion with the Latin and Greek in parallel columns was meant for some scholastic purpose; but it is out of the question that a copy so finely written and on such a scale was the work of a schoolboy. It may perhaps have been a schoolmaster's copy or that of a private student of Virgil. But it is surprising that the orthography of the Greek text is so much worse than that of the Latin; although there was more scope in the former for the *corrector*, he confined himself largely

to the latter. Even allowing for the fact that vowel changes are common in documents of the period, yet τοιχη for τύχη and αισθηταις for ἐσθῆτες show that the scribe's knowledge of Greek orthography, if not of the language, was uncertain. Further, the translation itself, even if judged by the low standard common, then as now, to word for word translations, simply is not Greek. For example, *pars . . . pars* is rendered by μέρος . . . μέρος, *ludis imaginibus* by παίζεις εἰκόσιν, *corripuere viam* by ἀφήρπαζον τὴν ὁδόν. The translation is in fact purely mechanical, each word being treated without reference to its context. But it does not stand alone. In 1927 A. Galbiati published in *Aevum* I, pp. 49–70, from a polyglot and polygraph codex in the Ambrosian Library, a palimpsest (the upper text being Arabic) of parts of *Aeneid I* and *II* accompanied by a Greek version. This text is dated to the fourth or early fifth century, and its place of origin is thought to be either Egypt or Syria. It includes, with large gaps, lines 588–741 of *Aeneid I*, but the only coincidence with **478** is in lines 649–51, where the Greek version in the Ambrosian codex runs (*op. cit.*, p. 59): καὶ περιυφαόμενον [*sic*: ? περιυφασμένον] κροκοειδεῖ σκέπασμα ἀκάνθῳ, κόσμους τῆς Πελοποννησίας Ἑλένης, οὓς ἐκείνη ἀπὸ τῶν Μυκηνῶν, τὰ Πέργαμα ὁπότε μετεδίωκεν καὶ τοὺς ἀσυγχωρήτους γάμους. This is not identical with the version in **478**, but it is close enough to make one suspect a common origin[1]. It should be added that the arrangement of both the Ambrosian text and the Vienna fragment is similar to that in **478**. Further, there are two other Virgilian papyri, both of the fifth century which, though they do not contain a complete Latin text with a Greek version, yet give most of the Latin words with their Greek equivalents opposite, only the simpler ones being omitted—P. Oxy. 1099 and P. S. I. 756. In the latter, *corripere*, mistakenly translated by ἀφαρπάζειν in l. 418 in our text, is correctly rendered by the same word in *Aeneid II*, 479; similarly ὀλισθάνειν is used to translate *elapsus* in both papyri. Consequently it is unlikely that our translation was the unaided production of an individual, with a merely local circulation; the most likely hypothesis is that there was in general use in the Near East a Virgilian dictionary similar to the Homeric lexica which we know existed[2]; in this the Greek equivalents (sometimes more than one) for the Latin words would be given and were used without any discrimination by the composer of our text. This will explain some of the mistakes in our text (and the Ambrosian translation is on a slightly higher level throughout); but it must have been a bad dictionary that gave ὀλισθάνειν as the equivalent for *elabi*. The fact that in **478** where a Latin word is omitted, the corresponding Greek word is also absent, favours this hypothesis.

The relative soundness of the Latin text may be due to the scribe's having had a reliable copy in front of him. There are two omissions, *oris* in l. 252 and *mediisque* in l. 638; but the errors that have escaped the *corrector* are comparatively few. In verse 646 the papyrus lends support to a conjecture of Baehrens which has not found favour with editors; but neither the condemnation of verse 426 by Heyne and Ribbeck nor *dii*, the reading of Gellius in verse 636 for the *dei* of the MSS., are supported. For collation the edition

[1] See also E. A. Lowe in *Classical Review*, xxxvi (1922), 154, who refers there to an otherwise unpublished parchment fragment in the Rainer collection at Vienna, containing ll. 673–4 of *Aeneid V* with a Greek translation; Lowe assigns it to the sixth century.

[2] It has recently been announced (see *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, xxiii (1936), 214) that among the papyri discovered in 1936 at ʿAujā in Palestine was a fragment of Virgil with a Greek translation; it would not be surprising if the version was the same as that known from Egypt.

of Ribbeck (1894) and the Oxford Text of Hirtzel have been used. In the transcription letters rewritten by the *corrector* are in italic type, and words or letters found only in the Milan fragment are underlined; supplements of the Greek version are occasionally admitted *exempli gratia.*

Frag. (a).

Verso.

	. . . . .	. . . . .
(235)	[hinc]	απ[ο τουτων]
	[fo]r[e duc]tores	εσεσθαι ηγεμονες
	revocatò	ανακληθεντος
	[a] sanguine Teucrì	απο ονοματος το(υ) Τευκρ[ου]
(236)	qui mare	οιτινες την θαλασσαν
	qui terras	οιτινες χωρας
	[omni dicione]	[μι]α εν εξουσια
	[tenerent]	[κ]ατεξουσιν
(237)	[pollicitus]	[ε]πηγγιλω
	[quae te genitor]	[τις σ]ε γνωμη
	[sententia]	[ω] γεννητωρ στρεφει
(238)	[vert]i[t hoc] eq[uidem]	[του]τω μεν ουν
	occasum Troiae	[την σ]υμφορα̣ν της Τροιας
	tristesque ruinas	[και τλημ]ονας συμπτωσεις
(239)	solabar [fa]t[is]	[παρεμυθ]ουμην μοιραις
	cóntraria	[τας εναν]τιας
	fata rependens	μ[ο]ιρας [α]ντισταθμωμ[ε]ν[η]
(240)	nunc eadem	νυν η α[υτ]η
	for[t]una viros	τοιχη τοι[ς] ανδρασιν
	tot c[a]sibus {ca}	τοσαυταις σ[υ]μφ[ορ]αις
(241)	ācto[s] insequi[t]ur	ελασθεντ[ας] επ[εται]
	quem da[[d]]s fi[ne]m	ποιον δι[δως τε]λο[ς]
	rex magne la[borum]	βασιλευ μεγιστε [πονων]
(242)	A[n]tenor po[uit]	Αντηνωρ ηδυ[ατο]
	mediis [[.]] elapsu[s]	εν μεσων ολισθανω[ν]
	Achivis	των Αχεων
(243)	Illyr⟨i⟩c[o]s	εις τους Ευλλυρικους

Recto.

	. . . . .	. . . . .
(247)	[hic tamen ille]	ενταυθα ομω[ς εκεινος]
	urbem Patabi	την πολ[ιν Πατου]ι[ου]
	sedesque locavit	και εδρας ιδρυσεν
(248)	Teucrorum et genti	των Τρωων και το
	nomen dedit	ονομα δεδωκεν
	armaque fixit	και οπλα επηξεν

(249) Troia n[[.]]ụ*n*c	Τ[ρωικα
placidạ comp̣[o]ṣ[tus	]
pace qu`*i*´eṣc̣iṭ	[ ]
(250) nos tua progen[ies	]
caeli quibus	[ ]
abnuis arcem	[ ]
(251) navibus a[[r]]missị[s]	νηων απολλυμενῳ[ν]
ińfandum unius	αθεμ̣ιτως μιας
(252) ob iram pr[odim]ụṛ	δ̣ι οργην πρ̣οδιδομεθα
adque Itạḷịṣ	και των [Ι]ταλωνιων
longe dịṣịụngiṃụṛ	μακραν διαζευγνυμεθα
(253) hic pietaṭịṣ ḥọ[noṣ]	αυτη της ευσεβιạ̣ṣ τ̣ι̣[μη]
s[ic] ṇọs [i]n sceptra	ουτως ημας ες τα β̣ạσιλι̣ạ
ṛẹponis	αποτιθη
(254) olli *su*bridens	εκινη υπομηδιων
[hominum s]aṭoṛ	ạ̣ν̣[θ]ρ̣[ω]π̣ων σπορευς
ạṭ[q]ụ[e d]ẹorum	[και τ]ω̣ν θεων
(255) vụ*l*tu qu*o* caelum	τ̣ω̣ π̣ρ̣ọ̣σ̣ω̣π̣ω̣ οιω τ[ο]ν̣ ọ̣υ̣ρα`νο(ν)´
tẹmpestatesque	και χειμωνας
serenat	ευδιν ẹ̣π̣ọ̣ι̣ει
(256) *o*scul*a* libavit	φιληματα [[εθ]] εσπισεν

Frag. (b).

Recto.

[ille ubi matre]m	εκ̣ι̣̣νος ω̣ṣ [την μ]η̣τ̣ẹρα
(406) [agnovi]ṭ	[α]ν̣εγνω
[tali fugien]ṭẹṃ	τοιạ̣υ̣[τη] φ̣ẹ̣[υγουσαν]
[voce s]ẹc̣ụṭụṣ $\overline{\text{est}}$	φωνη ẹ̣σ̣π̣[ετο]
(407) [qu]id ṇạtụ[m] totiens	τι τọ̣ν̣ υ̣ι̣ον ọ̣υ̣τ̣[ω πο]λ̣λ̣ạ
[crudeli]ṣ ṭụ quoqụe	ωμη συ τε ομοιως
(408) [falsis l]ụdis	πλασταις πεζεις
[imagin]ibus	ẹ̣ι̣κ̣ọσειν
[cur d]extrae	δ̣[ι]ọ̣τ̣[ι δε]ξ̣ι̣ạ
[iungere] dextram	[ζευγνυναι δε]ξ̣ι̣[αν]
(409) [non da]ṭur	[ου διδοται]
[ac vera]s auḍịṛe	και̣ ạ̣[ληθεις ακουειν]
[et red]deṛẹ voces	και απ̣ọ̣[δουναι φωνας]
(410) [talibus] iṇc̣us[at]	τοιου[τοις επιτιμα]
[gressum]qụẹ	και το[ν στιβον]
[ad moenia]	π̣ρ̣[ο]ṣ [τα τειχη]
(411) [tendit at Venus]	τ[ρεπει αλλα Αφροδιτη]
[obscuro	]
[gradi]enṭịs	[ ]

[aere saep]ṣ[it]
(412) [et multo nebulae]
[circum dea]
[fudit amictu]
(413) [cernere ne quis]
[eos neu quis]
[contingere p]ọsseṭ [ ]
(414) [molirive mor]ạm [ ]
[aut venien]ḍị [ ]
. . . .

Verso.

(418) corripuere
viạm interea
Qua semita
(419) monstrat: iamque
asc̣endebant collem
Qui plurimus urbi
(420) imminet
adversasque
ạṣ[pectan]ṭ
[desupe]ṛ ạ[rces]
(421) [miratur molem]
[Aeneas]
[magalia quo]ndam
(422) [miratur po]ṛṭas
[strepitum]que
[et strata] ṿiaru[m]
(423) [instant ar]ḍẹṇṭẹṣ
[Tyrii par]ṣ
[ducere m]uros
(424) [molirique a]rcem
[et manibus]
[subvolvere saxa]
(425) [pars optare]
[locum tecto et]
[concludere]
(426) [sulco iura]
[magistratusque]
[legunt sanctumque
. . . . . .

αφηρπ̣ạ[σαν]
την οδ̣ọ̣ν [εν τουτω]
δι ης η ατρ̣ạπ̣[ος]
δηλοι λ̣ẹ̣[. .]ω̣[.]ṭọ
ανηρχον̣ṭο τ̣ọ̣ν [λοφον]
οστις πλιστο[ς τη πολει]
επικιται
και τας κατα[κειμενας]
θεωρουσειν
υπερθεν ακ[ροπολεις]
θαυμαζει ṭọ [μεγεθος]
ο Αινιας
καλυβας πο[τε]
θαυμαζει τα[ς πυλας]
και τον θ̣ọ̣[ρυβον]
και τας λ̣ạ̣[ινας οδους]
εστηκ̣ạ̣[σι προθυμοι]
οι Τυρ̣ι̣οι [μερος]
αναγιν ṭ[α τειχη]
και μηχαν̣[ασθαι ακροπολιν]
κ̣αι ταις [χερσιν]
υποκ[υλινδειν λιθους]
μερ[ος ελεσθαι]
τοπον̣ [τη οικια και]
[ο]ρ̣ισ[ασθαι]
ṭω αυ[λακι νομους]
και αρ̣χ̣[ας]
εκ]λεγ̣ọ̣[υσιν και ιεραν]
. . . . . .

Frag. (c).

Recto.

(633)	nec minus interea	ουδε η̣[σσον εν τουτω]
	s[oc]ịịs `*ad litora*´ ṃịṭtu[[n]]`t´	απο[[.]]π̣ε̣[μπει] τοις ε[ταιροις προς ακτας]
(634)	[viginti] taurōs	εικο[σι βους]
	[magn]ọ̀ṛụṃ họṛṛenṭịa	μεγ[αλ]ω̣ν̣ φρι̣⟨σσο⟩ν̣τα
(635)	[terga su]um *cent*[um]	ε̣κ̣α̣τ̣[ον] ν[ωτα] υ̣ων
	[centum cu]ṃ ṃạṭṛ[ibus]	ε̣[κατ]ον μετα των μνηρω[ν]
(636)	[agnos munera]	[ελα]φ̣ους δωρα
	[laetitiamque dei]	[και] ιλαριαν του πεου
(637)	[at domus]	αλλα δη ο οικος
	[interior]	ο εσωτερος
	[regali]	βασι̣λ̣ι̣κ̣η̣
	[splendi]ḍạ	λαμπρα
	[luxu]	πολυτελια
(638)	ịṇ[st]ṛuitur	καταρτ[υ]ε̣[ται]
	[par]ant	ετοι̣μαζ̣ο̣υσειν
	convivia	συμποσι̣α
	ṭẹc̣ṭis	στε[[ρ]]γαις
(639)	arte laboratae	τεχνη με[μελημεναι]
	vestes	αισθητα[ις
	oṣtroque	πορφυρα
(640)	ṣụpẹ[rbo ingen]ṣ	[
		. . . . .

Verso.

(645)	[ipsumque ad] ṃọenia	αυτον τε προς τα τιχ̣η̣
(646)	[ducat omnis in] ascaniō	α [[ε]]ξει πασ̣[α εν Α]σ̣κ̣[ανι]ω̣
	c̣[aro]	τ̣ι̣μιω
	stạṭ [cu]ṛạ	ισταται φρο̣[ν]τ̣ι̣[ς]
(647)	parentis· mụ[nera]	πα[τ]ρος δω̣ρ̣[α] π̣[ρος τουτοις]
	praeterea Iliạ[cis]	α̣[ρπ]αζομενα
	ēre*p*ta	α̣π̣ο̣ Ι̣[λ]ι̣[ακων συμ]
(648)	ruinis· ferre iuḅ[et]	πτ[ωσεων λεγει φερειν]
	pallam [[i]]signis	παλ[λαν σημειοις]
	auroque rigentẹm	κ̣α̣ι̣ χ̣ρ̣[υσω στερεαν]
(649)	et circum[t]ẹx̣ṭụm	και περιυ[φαινομενον]
	croceō	οειδι κροκ[[ιω]]
	velamen	περιπετασμ̣[α]
	acantho	ακανθινω
(650)	ornatus Ạṛg̣ịṿạ[e]	κοσμους `της´ Ελλην[ικης]

	Helenae	Ελενης
	quos illa	ους εκ[ει]ν[η]
(651)	My[c]e[n]is· [Pe]rgama	Μυκηνων τα Περγαμ[α]
150	[cum pete]ret	οτε ὁρμα
	[inconcesso]sq[ue]	και εις τους ασυγχω[ρητους]
	. . . .	. . . . .

1. It is surprising that so short a word should have occupied an entire line; but the reading seems to be demanded by the Greek.

2. l. *ἡγεμόνας*.

3. l. *ἀνακληθέντας*.

4. *ονοματος*: more likely due to a confusion between *αἷμα* and *ὄνομα* on the part of the translator than to a reading *nomine*—not vouched for elsewhere—in the original.

7. [*μι*]*a*: no other supplement is possible with the space at our disposal. It is not necessary to infer that the papyrus read *una* (an otherwise unknown reading) for *omni*; but it may be cited in support of the reading *omni* (with Mybc and Servius) against *omnis* (F^1) or *omnes* (F^2V).

12. Perhaps add [*εγω*] at the end of the line.

19. l. *τύχη*.

20. The scribe started to write *casibus* again and the slip escaped the notice of the *corrector*.

21. l. *ἐλασθεῖσι*.

23. We should expect *των πονων*: but there is no room for the article and it is possible that *πονων* also was omitted.

25. The reading here is due to a confusion between *ἐν μέσῳ* and *διὰ* (or *ἐκ*) *μέσων*.

26. l. *Ἀχαιῶν*.

27. *Illyricos*: the fourth letter is a *y* corresponding in shape to, but smaller than, the Greek upsilon, and distinct from the scribe's *u*; it probably occurs again in *Mycenis* (l. 149). l. *Ἰλλυρικοὺς*.

39. *abnuis*: *adnuis* MSS. This error seems to be peculiar to the papyrus.

40. *a*[[*r*]]*missi*[*s*]: a clear case of an error due to dictation. In all MSS. *amissis* follows *infandum*.

43. l. *atque*. Ιταλωνιων: *vox nihili*.

44. *oris* after *disiungimur* has been omitted, also the corresponding word in the translation.

45. l. *εὐσεβείας*.

46. l. *βασίλεια*.

47. Probably read *ἀποτίθη⟨s⟩*; neither in the active nor the middle does *ἀποτίθημι* have the meaning *replace, restore*.

At the end of the line are some traces of black ink; they may be an attempt at correction on the part of the third hand, but are more probably a smudge.

48. l. *ἐκείνῃ ὑπομειδιῶν*.

49. *σπορεύς* in the sense of *father* is only quoted in Liddell & Scott from Themistius, *Orationes* 6, 77 b.

53. l. *εὖδεῖν*.

54. The *o* of *oscula* was corrected from *s* and the *a* from *i* by the second hand. l. *εσπεισεν*.

55. l. *ἐκεῖνος*.

58. The line over *est* by the third hand was perhaps to indicate that it was misplaced.

61. l. *παίζεις*.

62. l. *εἰκόσιν*.

80. [*p*]*osset*, so PM etc.: *possit* GRγbc^{1}π.

83. *ἁφαρπάζω* is used to translate *corripere* in the Virgilian word-list, P. S. I. 756, and in that context (*Aeneid II*, 479) appropriately.

85. It is not clear why the initial *q* of this line, as also that of line 88, should be enlarged and project into the margin.

86. Whatever stood in the Greek version after δηλοι, neither νῦν or ἤδη formed a part of it.

88. l. πλεῖστος.

89. l. ἐπίκειται.

91. *aspectant* $F^2\gamma^2\pi^1$; *spectant* F^1; *aspectat* MPRbc. l. θεωρουσιν.

93. *moles* is similarly translated by μεγεθος in P. S. I. 756 (*Aeneid II*, 497).

99. εστηκα[σι suggests that the papyrus may have read *adstant*, an error not quoted from any other MS.: perhaps more probably it is a mistranslation of *instant*. προθυμοι may overrate the intelligence of the translator; he was quite capable of writing φλεγοντες.

101. l. ἀνάγειν.

108. This line—*iura magistratusque legunt sanctumque senatum*—condemned by Heyne and Ribbeck, clearly stood in the papyrus.

112. *ad litora*: added above the line in a cursive hand; the third *t* of *mittunt* was supplied, and the *n* deleted, by the original scribe. αποπεμπει, as also εκατον in l. 115, is written in a cursive hand, which may or may not be that of the original scribe.

114. *centum* was omitted by the first hand and added by the *corrector* in cursive writing below *horrentia*, as there was no room between the latter and μεγ[αλ]ων.

116. *pinguis* omitted by the first hand may well have been added by the *corrector* above the line. μνηρω[ν]: l. μητέρων.

118. l. θεοῦ. It is clear that the papyrus agreed with the MSS. in reading *dei*, in place of the *dii* (=*diei*) of Gellius.

122. l. λαμπρός: the reading was probably influenced by *splendida*.

125. l. ἑτοιμάζουσιν. The Milan fragment makes it clear that *mediisque* was omitted.

129. l. ἐσθῆτες.

132. l. τείχη.

133. *Ascanio*: added in a semi-cursive by the second hand.

134. τιμίῳ: we may infer that this translates *caro*, which was suggested by Baehrens (but has not met with the approval of editors) in place of the *cari* of the MSS.

138. l. κροκοειδεῖ.

140. The translator may have had in mind a word πάλα cited in Hesychius as meaning ζώνη, but it is more probable that he merely transcribed the Latin.

144. περιπετασμα: cf. Stephanus, Thesaurus, s.v. In spite of its presence in MSS., περιπέτασμα has often been changed by editors to παραπέτασμα; this instance, where it aptly translates *velamen*, suggests that it enjoyed an independent existence.

146. Vitelli suggested Ελλην[ιδος; but Calderini's Ελλην[ικης seems more appropriate to the translator's style.

479. FRAGMENTS OF THE *DIGEST*.

Acquired in 1917. Frag. (b). 14·3 × 10·7 cm. Sixth century. PLATE 4.

These fragments belong to what must have been a remarkably handsome codex, written in a large uncial hand on papyrus light in colour and of fine quality. On purely palaeographical grounds the fragments might have been judged contemporary with P. Oxy. 1813, a fragment of the Codex Theodosianus in all probability earlier than A.D. 529, the year in which Justinian's first codex was published; there is a strong resemblance between the hands, but that of **479** is larger and slightly freer. It may further be compared with two other MSS., both of the type which Dr. Lowe would designate the

Byzantine Uncial: the Antinöe fragment of Juvenal,[1] dated by Dr. Lowe to the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century, and, more important, the great Florentine codex of the Pandects. As compared with the latter (perhaps to be dated to the late sixth century), the resemblances are much more striking than the differences; but it should be noticed that in **479**, *m*, as a rule, is less rounded than it is in the Florentine MS.—often the sign of an earlier hand—while *g* (as in the Antinöe Juvenal) has a long stroke to the left below the line and *s* has a slight slope to the right as in the Verona Gaius (Steffens, *Lat. Pal.* 18, fifth century). In general it may be said that **479** gives the impression of a hand freer and less stereotyped than that of the Florentine MS.; but it cannot be said that palaeographical considerations demand a date earlier than the fourth decade of the sixth century.

A complete column of writing would have measured some 22 cm. in height and 20 cm. in width; the page was probably not less than 32 × 26 cm. There were 32 lines to the page, and the average number of letters to the line is 35; there were 38 in lines 11, 12, and 29, and only 32 in line 34. The beginning of each *Lex* (to which a second hand has added a numeral in Greek) was marked by a large initial letter projecting into the margin, and each *Lex* began on a fresh line.

The fragments are widely separated; (a) and (b), which have been identified with *Digest* XXX, 11–13 and 22–6 respectively, though in the latter case the agreement is not complete, belonged to different sheets of papyrus, perhaps to different quires, as two pages must have intervened. The three smaller fragments have not been identified with a known text; but it seems that, unless the text varied considerably from that of the *Digest*, they do not belong to the same page as either (a) or (b). If the large S in l. 38 was the initial letter of a proper name, then it is probable that they are not even from the same book of the *Digest*.

The discrepancies between fragment (b) and the *Digest* are three. In the first place the Greek numerals at ll. 11 and 15, added in the margin by a second hand, should, according to the *Digest*, represent 23 and 24, not 22 and 23. But this is not an important difference, for, to judge by the Florentine MS. (Mommsen, *Praefatio*, pp. x–xi), there was no official numbering, and in any case mistakes in this matter would be too easy for it to be inferred here that our codex did not contain one of the *Digest* excerpts, XXX, 1–22. In the second place, in l. 17 the completion of the line from the *Digest* text would yield a line of 41 letters, considerably above the average. There are, however, several possible explanations, one of which is suggested in the note to l. 17.

The third discrepancy is more serious. In ll. 31–3 we seem to be at *Digest* XXX, 26, 1 which runs: *si certum corpus heres dare damnatus sit nec fecerit, quominus ibi ubi id esset traderet, si id postea sine dolo et culpa heredis perierit, deterior fit legatarii condicio.* Line 31 seems to have begun at *sit*, and line 33 ends with *c]um bo[norum*, the first words of the next section. It is clear that the papyrus did not contain the same text. If we estimate the lines as having contained at most 38 letters, which is well above the average, there is in l. 31 space for what is missing of the *Digest* text between *damnatus* and *traderet*.

[1] Edited, with plate, in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, xxi (1935), pp. 199 sq., by C. H. Roberts; references will be found there to other reproductions of hands of this type. A full facsimile of the Florentine codex was published at Rome in 1910, *Iustiniani Augusti . . . Codex Florentinus*.

But the letter following *quominus* cannot be *i*, as it should be, nor can it be *u* (on the assumption that the scribe wrote *ubi* directly after *quominus*); we must assume that our codex had at this point a reading otherwise unrecorded. There is, further, another certain variant. In the next line, 32,]*oc si* cannot be picked up in the *Digest* text; moreover, from *-deret*, with which l. 32 begins, to]*um bo-*, with which l. 33 ends inclusive, is in the *Digest* text 78 letters, whereas a high estimate of two lines of the papyrus is 76. Of course the lines may have been specially crowded, or the papyrus may have omitted something—not necessarily by error, e.g. *postea* in the *Digest* text is meaningless. But]*oc si* shows that there was some positive variation; and though it would not be difficult to rewrite the text so as to produce *hoc si* at the right point,[1] yet this discrepancy raises the question whether our papyrus really was a copy of the *Digest* which was published at the end of A.D. 533. In general, corruptions are no less probable in an early copy than in a later, but in the present case we have to remember the extreme importance of an accurate text and the precautions laid down by the *Digest* itself in order to secure this. But it is difficult to see what else our papyrus can be, if it is not a fragment of the *Digest*. Eminent scholars have maintained that the rapidity with which under Justinian's orders the *Digest* was compiled must be explained by the pre-existence of a similar compilation of classical excerpts, which was utilized by Justinian's commission. In the extreme form of a pre-*Digest* this theory has been rejected by general opinion (cf. W. W. Buckland, *A Textbook of Roman Law*[2], p. 40, note 1), but the existence of less extensive compilations of the same kind on particular topics, such as *de legatis*, is not in the least improbable (see E. Albertario, *Introduzione storica* (1935), pp. 16 sq., with references there quoted, to which add P. Collinet, *Byzantion*, iii (1926), pp. 1–15, and Buckland, *Juridical Review*, 1936, p. 341). Nevertheless the exact coincidence between our text and the *Digest*, not merely in wording—and in the Vatican fragments small verbal variants are common—but in order of excerpts and in method of inscription at the beginning of each excerpt, and, further, the observance by the papyrus of the introductory constitution of the *Digest*, *Tanta*, s. 22, shown by its avoidance of abbreviation[2] and by the numbers of the books cited being written out in clear—all these are arguments, the last a very strong one, for the view that we have in **479** small fragments of a copy of the *Digest* or part of it made within a few years of promulgation. The sumptuousness of the codex points in the same direction.

One noteworthy feature of the papyrus is that, apart from the divergent passage in ll. 31–3, it contains, so far as it can be read, every one of the phrases which modern criticism, as represented by the *Index Interpolationum*, has suspected of being non-classical. It even confirms *quarto* in the inscription of *Lex* 13, which Lenel (*Palingenesia*, II, Pomponius, 439) corrects to *quinto*. But nowadays it is not necessary to consider that interpolations were made by Justinian's compilers; in many cases they are held to be pre-Justinian. Consequently their presence in our text cannot be used as an argument for its being a copy of the *Digest*; but the absence of an interpolation from a given text may be more significant. In *Lex* 26, 1, Ferrini (*Rendic. Ist. Lomb.*, 33 (1900), p. 699 = *Opere*, 4, 209) suspected the phrase *postea sine dolo et culpa heredis*; *postea* is meaningless, *eius* is required

[1] It may be noted that there is an inversion of order in the Greek paraphrase at this point, *Basilica*, 44, 1, 26 (ed. Heimbach, iv. 331–2).

[2] Only one is found: *e* for *em* at the end of l. 47; this is a mere oversight, as the division *habea|m*, ll. 19–20, proves.

instead of *heredis*, and *et culpa* is, to say the least, highly suspicious. We have therefore to admit that our variant occurs at a point where interpolation of the *Digest* text is practically certain.

Frag. (a).

Verso = xxx. 11.

. . . . . .

[sua sibi filius obligari] non p[osset ac]
[pater non ut heres sed ut pat]er rog[ari vide]
[tur et ideo si filius rogatu]s sit p[ater post]
[mortem suam quod ad se pe]rven[it ex lega]

Recto = xxx. 12–13.

. . . . . .

[pertine]r[e placuit voluntas ergo facit quod]
[in test]amen[to scriptum valeat]
[Idem libro] qua[rto ad Sabinum cum incer]
[tus homo] lega[tus tibi esset heres Stichum]

Frag. (b).

Verso = xxx. 22–4.

. . . . . .

[desisset] es[se que]m [ad]mod[um insula legata]
[si co]mb[ust]a esset area p[ossit vindicari]
κβ. Pa[ulu]s libro tertio ad Sabin[um si quis bonorum]
pa[r]tem legaverit ut h[odie fit sine fructibus]
re[stituit]ur nisi mor[a intercesserit here]
[dis]
κγ. Pom[ponius l]ib[ro] quint[o ad Sabinum quod in re]
ru[m natura ad]huc n[on sit legari posse vel]
[u]t[i quicquid illa] anc[illa peperisset constitit]
vel [ita ex vino quod in fundo meo natum est]
vel f[etus tantum dato si usum fructum habea]
m eu[mque legaverim nisi postea proprie]
tate[m eius nactus sim inutile legatum est]
si q[uis post testamentum factum fundo Titia]
. . . . . .

Recto = xxx. 25–6.

. . . . . .

[te legati in patris] p[otestate sit igitur]
[et si iussu patris a]dita [si]t here[ditas imputa]
[bitur ei in Falcidia]m

[Pomponius libro qui]nto ad Sabinum noṇ [a]m
[plius legatorum no]minẹ ad queṃqu[a]m [pe]ṛti
[nere videtur quam] quod deduc[to eo quod e]x
[plendae condicioni]ṣ causa ḍatụ[m esset sup]ẹṛ
[esset si certum corpu]ṣ her[es dare damna]tus
[sit nec fecerit quomi]nus s[. . . . . .]t ṭra
[deret h]oc si
[c]um bo
[norum parte legata dubium sit utru]m re
[rum partes an aestimatio debeatur S]abinus
[quidem et Cassius aestimationem Proc]ulus
[et Nerva rerum partes esse legatas ex]ịstim[a]
. . . . . .

Frag. (c).

Verso. Recto.

. . . . . .
Su[ ]
de[ ]um
si[ ]ẹav
st[ ]uit
ọc[ ]ṛte(m)
. . . . . .

Frag. (d).

Verso. Recto.

. . . . . .
]og[ ] . an[
]ṃbẹ[ ]ạcọ[
]ri[ ]nị[
]ạis[ ]te[
. . . . . .

Frag. (e).

Verso. Recto.

. . . . . .
]leg[ ]cụ[
]ṃṭ[ ] . pt[
. . . . . .

17. As it stands, this line with 41 letters is considerably too long, the average number of letters to the line being 35. Hence it is probable that **479** had a different reading—perhaps *peperit . . . constat.*

20. The separation of the final *m* of *habeam* from the rest of the word is unusual, but is evidence of the scribe's unwillingness to abbreviate.

38. The *s* of this line, though it does not project into the margin, as do the initial letters of new excerpts, is double the height of the normal letter. The initial letter of the only proper name that occurs (Sabinus in

ll. 11 and 26) is, in accordance with usual practice, no larger than other letters. It cannot mark the beginning of a new *Lex*, as there is no *Lex* in the whole *Digest* beginning *Su* with which the traces of the subsequent lines can be reconciled. It might mark the beginning of a new paragraph, though the beginning of a new paragraph in l. 22 is not indicated in this way; or it may be the beginning of a proper name, either of a place or of a party to a case (no jurist seems possible in this context, as Servius Sulpicius is always cited in the *Digest* as Servius[1]); but in neither case is it probable that the fragment belonged to *Digest* XXX.

59.]*ṃpt*[and]*ọpt*[are equally easy to read; the number of possibilities is too large to make speculation profitable.

480–1. MINOR FRAGMENTS.

These two small Latin fragments are included for the sake of completeness; both were acquired in 1917 and were in the same group as **474**, **475**, and **479**, but neither appears to belong to any published Latin papyrus.

480 is written in a regular uncial hand, which may be assigned to the fifth century. There is no trace of writing on the recto; this may be explained on the ground either that the margins (as in **476**) were irregular or that a space had been left to mark a division between chapters. It is improbable that a Latin literary text was in this period written on a roll. *Appella*[in l. 4 suggests that the text may have been legal.

481 is written in a crude mixed uncial hand, probably contemporary with that of **480**; the ink is brown and the papyrus exceptionally light in colour. To judge from the way in which ll. 1 and 4 project into the margin, the text was divided into short sections; this, and the Greek numeration on the verso, suggest that this text also, like the others with which it was purchased, was juristic.

480. 3·1 × 3·1 cm. Fifth century. PLATE 3.

Verso.

. . . .
]t tuṃ[
]rus puṛ[
]id ac[
]ạppellạ[
. . . .

481. 2·2 × 3·2 cm. Fifth century.

Recto.

. . .
filị[
. [
ạ[
ua[
. . .

Verso.

. . .
5] . aḷ
]s
]ṭ
] . κη̄

[1] In I, 2, 2, 42. 43 he is referred to by Pomponius as Servius Sulpicius; but the passage does not suit this context.

III. NEW CLASSICAL TEXTS (GREEK)

482. FRAGMENT OF A TRAGEDY.

Acquired in 1920. 9·9 × 10·9 cm. Second century.
PLATE 4.

Two fragments from the bottom of a column, separated by a small but continuous gap down the centre; the beginning (as a rule, a foot and a half) of each line is missing, and in the upper part the ends of the lines are also wanting. The text is written along the fibres in the square, calligraphic hand of which P. Oxy. 844 is a good example, and may be assigned to the earlier part of the second century; a peculiarity to be noted is the scribe's habit of forming the horizontal bar of an ε by bringing round the upper curve, i.e. of writing the letter in a single stroke. Accents are occasionally used; the apostrophe, to mark elision, occurs in l. 14, and the mark of short quantity in l. 11. For punctuation high and middle points are employed. The verso is blank.

There is unfortunately no certain clue whereby to identify the tragedy to which this fragment belonged. But the mention of Telephus in l. 3 may be regarded as certain, and as we also find a chorus sympathetic to him, and urging that an escort be given him across the sea, we can hardly go wrong in assuming that the play described Telephus' attempt to prevail on Achilles to heal his wound, and his own undertaking, in return, to guide the Greeks to Troy. There is nothing to indicate who is the speaker of ll. 1–15. The speaker is clearly sympathetic to Telephus and a person in authority—one of the Greek chieftains (? Odysseus, or perhaps Calchas, cf. Pearson, *Fragments of Sophocles*, i, p. 96) who is eager for the fleet to sail. According to one form of the legend (see Nauck, *TGF.*[2], p. 579, introduction to Euripides' *Telephus*, and Pearson, *op. cit.*, pp. 94 sq., introduction to the Ἀχαιῶν Σύλλογος), Telephus gained his end by seizing the young Orestes with Clytemnestra's connivance and threatening to kill him were his demands not complied with; the stratagem was successful, and Achilles eventually consented to heal him. To this story Mr. D. L. Page would refer the present fragment; on his theory, the plot is being laid in the dialogue, part of which survives in ll. 1–15. Telephus is to get the fleet on his side; then a second person is to get Telephus into the palace, and, as there has been a proclamation (*κηρύκειον*) that no foreigner may be admitted, he is dressed as an *ἀστός*. Lines 7–10 may be interpreted as meaning that he is to go as a petitioner on the ground that he has been refused justice by the *ἀγοί* (in some imaginary cause), and thus seize his opportunity to kidnap Orestes; or they may mean, that, since in fact the *ἀγοί* (Achilles and his supporters) have refused him justice, i.e. have ignored his claims as a suppliant, he is determined, dressed as an *ἀστός*, to break into the palace. The latter explanation is perhaps simpler and all that the text demands.

It is highly improbable that this fragment formed part of Euripides' *Telephus* (for this play see Nauck, *op. cit.*, and Wilamowitz in *BKT.* v. 2, p. 69); there are no resolved feet, and neither diction nor style are particularly Euripidean. In Euripides' version Telephus appears, dressed in beggar's rags, as a πυλωρός before the palace, while here he is simply to appear as an ἀστός; nor is it even certain (Pearson, *op. cit.*) whether the Orestes incident was introduced at all. A *Telephus* is attributed to Aeschylus by the scholiast to Arist. *Ach.* 332, in which the seizure of Orestes occurred; Nauck (*op. cit.*, p. 76) regards the attribution as mistaken, but it is upheld by Pearson. There is nothing in our fragment, except possibly the metaphorical use of γνάθος in l. 12, to suggest Aeschylus as the author; if it is by one of the Three at all, then Sophocles would be the likeliest candidate. The story was treated by Sophocles in his Ἀχαιῶν Σύλλογος (his *Telephus* was probably a satyr-play), a fragment of which has already appeared in a Berlin papyrus (*BKT.* v. 2, p. 64); Pearson (*op. cit.*, p. 96) thinks that the Orestes incident formed no part of the play, but there are no substantial grounds for this view, and hence it is possible that our fragment is part of the same tragedy.

For assistance in editing this fragment I am much indebted to Mr. D. L. Page; in particular the supplements in transcription B are very largely his work.

TRANSCRIPTION A

. . . . .

]φ[
]κοιν[. .]ερχεται[
]στήλε[.]εσταπε[
]να[. . .]ισκαικ[.]βερνη[
]αρω[.]εκνυκ[.]σειτασ[
]μεν[. .]μβουλο[.]ελθετωι[
]γαρημωνωσο[. .]θοσεστα[
]ρωτακαινομ[.]ισελληνι[
]υσιχρηῖσθαιτ[.]στυχησαμ[. .] .[
]οισινεμπε[.]ειν᾽αστοσγα[.]ωσ
]κηρυκεῖονο[.]δἄκνειπλεον᾽
]κοισαντησδαφεσπερασγναθο[
]ηνεθωμεθ[.]μνηστεινσεχρη
]τα᾽σοιδ᾽ὑπεξελεῖνπάρα
]μηπρόσχο[. .]ονὡσανηρμόλη
]υντούτοιστ[.]ιμενξεινωι
]ινπομπου[.]παρατασσέσθω
]υαρχοστισ[. .]ηρεσται᾽
]εκτουτῳ[. . . .]τοσεγωπαν

TRANSCRIPTION B

. . . . . .

. . . . . .]φ[. . . . . .]
[⏑ πρὸς τὸ] κοιν[ὸν] ἔρχεται[ι ⏑ – ∪ –]

[ἔπειτα καταβά]ς, Τήλε[φ'], ἐς τὰ πε[— ∪ —]
[σήμαινε] να[ύτα]ις καὶ κ[υ]βερνή[ταις τάδε,]
[ἄφνω π]αρὼ[ν] ἐκ νυκ[τό]ς· εἶτα σ[όν ∪ —]
[ἔργον· σὺ] μὲν [σύ]μβουλο[ς] ἐλθὲ τῶι [στόλωι.]
[ἐπεὶ] γὰρ ἡμῶν, ὡς ὁ [μῦ]θός ἐστ', ἀ[γοὶ]
[δίκῃ τὰ π]ρῶτα καὶ νόμ[ο]ις Ἑλληνι[κοῖς]
[εἴργο]υσι χρῆσθαι, τ[ῆ]ς τύχης ἁμ[αρ]τ[άνων]
[τολμᾷ δόμ]οισιν ἐμπε[σ]εῖν· ἀστὸς γὰ[ρ] ὡς
[εἶσ', ὃν τὸ] κηρύκειον ο[ὐ] δάκνει πλέον·
[σὺ δ' ἐξά]γοις ἂν τῆσδ' ἀφ' ἑσπέρας γνάθο[υ·]
[οὐ γάρ, τάδ'] ἦν ε⟨ὖ⟩ θώμεθ', ἀμνηστεῖν σε χρὴ
[τῶν εἰσέπει]τα· σοὶ δ' ὑπεξελεῖν πάρα
[τῶνδ' εἴ τι] μὴ πρόσχο[ρδ]ον, ὡς ἀνὴρ μόλῃ.
[ΧΟΡΟΣ ἄγε σ]ὺν τούτοις τ[ῷ] μὲν ξείνῳ
[συμπλε]ῖν πομπού[ς] παρατασσέσθω
[. . . να]υαρχός τις [ἀν]ὴρ ἔσται·
[τὸ δ' ἄρ'] ἐκ τούτω[ν αὐ]τὸς ἐγὼ πᾶν

3 sqq. 'Then, Telephus, go down to the . . . and reveal this to the sailors and the pilots, appearing suddenly after nightfall: then, friend, the task is thine: go thou as a counsellor to the host. For since, as thy story is to be, our leaders do from the first deny him the use of Hellene right and law, he, his fortunes failing, dares to break into the palace. For he will go as a citizen whom the herald's decree irks no more than another. Do thou set forth from this western promontory: for see thou forget not what follows, if our first plan go aright. Thine it is to remove all that agrees not with our plan, that Telephus may come here.'

Chorus: 'Come with their help, let some captain, if there be one here, command an escort to sail with the Stranger. For what follows myself will . . .'

3. Πε[ργαμα is the obvious supplement here and may, even in the context that the present reconstruction supposes, be correct; i.e. the speaker, who is Telephus' ally and probably (see introd.) in the Greek camp or palace, may say 'that we may start for Troy: tell this (? the fact that only under Telephus' guidance can the Greeks make the journey) to the sailors and pilots'. Another supplement is hard to find; Page suggests, tentatively, τα πε[λαγια: but points out that there is no evidence for such a usage.

4. να[υτ]ης is a possible, if less likely, reading.

5. There is no room for both τ and ο in the gap after κ: the scribe has actually left a small blank space after the κ. One of the two, then, was either omitted or written above the line—a fact of some importance for l. 13.

6. Compared with the επει of l. 7, the supplement of this line is rather long, as the ε of μεν comes above the α of γαρ. But one and a half feet remain to be filled and I can think of no shorter alternative.

7–10. The end of this sentence is marked by the point in l. 10; verbs have to be found to govern both χρησθαι in l. 9 and εμπε[σ]ειν in l. 10 (it is almost certain that they cannot be governed by the same verb, as they are unconnected and separated by the words at the end of l. 9); the verb for χρῆσθαι must surely be found in the preceding ο]υσι, that for εμπε[σ]ειν at the beginning of l. 10 (the end of l. 9 being occupied with the phrase τ[η]ς τυχης . . .). At the beginning of l. 8 we should expect the other noun demanded by και νομοις ελληνι[κοις]; and if the sentence does consist of two clauses, l. 7 must have begun with the introductory particle, e.g. ἐπεί. Since both the sense of the whole and the presence of ημων demand that the subject be expressed, it can only have stood at the end of this line. The reconstruction given here does involve several difficulties, of which the most serious lies in the phrase ὡς ὁ μῦθός ἐστ'. The absence of the apostrophe to mark the elision is not of any consequence, since it is omitted after ἀφ' in l. 12. With the meaning 'as the story goes' (which, one must admit, it would not be easy to fit into the present context) ἐστιν is commonly omitted. In the sense of *report, news*, μῦθος occurs in the singular in *Ion* 1340 and in the plural in *Trachiniae* 67. Here

the sense might be 'as the report goes'. Page's rendering 'so shall thy tale run' is much more attractive, if the future sense of *ἐστι* here is allowed.

For *αγοι* cf. Aesch. *Suppl.* 248: for *εἴργειν* with the infinitive without *μή* cf. Soph. *OT.* 129. If a subject for *χρῆσθαι* is felt to be necessary *δικηι σφε*] *πρωτα* could be read.

The dot of ink which I have interpreted as part of a *τ* near the end of l. 9 could belong to almost any letter.

10–11. *κηρυκειον* (the accent in the papyrus is false) is not cited in the lexica in the sense of *herald's edict* or *proclamation*: but it does not seem an impossible extension from its proper meaning and can find support in the *γράμμα κηρύκειον* of Soph. *Fr.* 784, interpreted by Pearson as 'the written instructions from which the herald makes his proclamation'. Perhaps we should see in *δάκνει* an allusion to the snakes with which the herald's wand was traditionally wreathed. *ου . . . πλεον*, i.e. not more than any other citizen.

The supplement to l. 11 is not entirely satisfactory; but *φερων* or *οισει* would be inappropriate as there is no reason why Telephus (especially if dressed as an *ἀστός*) should carry the herald's wand. (It should perhaps be noticed that the *κηρύκειον* could also be carried by suppliants, v. Stephanus, *Thesaurus*, s.v.). *ε*[*ἰ*] *δάκνει* is possible palaeographically, but unhelpful.

12. Of the letter before *οις* all that can be seen is a small stroke, at a slight angle, near the top of the *ο*; a finial of this type is sometimes used by the scribe on the upper arm of a *κ*, and, although there is no sign in the papyrus of the lower arm, *κ* is slightly more probable than any other letter here. I have been unable to find any verb in *-κω* that would meet the requirements of this line. But *χ* would not be an impossible reading and even *τ̣* and *υ̣* cannot be excluded.

Apart from this difficulty, the meaning of the line is by no means clear. *γνάθος* must be used in the sense of *rock* or *promontory* in which it occurs once in Greek literature, in Aesch. *PV.* 726. But what can 'this western promontory' be? The *τησδε* implies either that it is visible from the scene of action, or at any rate not very distant. The scene of the play (see introd.) is laid in Argos, or perhaps in the Greek camp at Aulis; in neither case is the meaning of the phrase immediately clear. In the latter case it might refer to the hills west of Argos or conceivably to the coast of the Peloponnese opposite the long peninsula on which Troezen and Hermione stand, i.e. that stretch of coast might be called 'western' in contrast to the 'eastern' coast near Nauplia.

εξαγειν: intrans. *to go out* or *away* is only quoted from Xenophon and once from Homer (Z 726); here it is supplied in the lack of anything better. It is not clear who is the person addressed, perhaps one of the generals (? Odysseus) whose ships are to sail as soon as Telephus' *coup* is successful. Another interpretation is possible; that the reference in this line is to a signal to be given to the conspirators (the story, as reconstructed here, has two *foci* of action: the fleet (l. 4), and the palace (l. 10)). In this case the *γνάθος* might conceivably refer to the hills west of Argos; it is, however, more appropriately applied to cliffs.

13. *ηνεθωμεθ* is completely baffling. I can find no verb to which it can be ascribed, nor a suitable adjective if we divide]*ηνε θωμεθ'* (as *δυστηνε* is prohibited by the metre). A proper name may have stood here; but in the absence of a suitable one I have adopted Page's suggestion that we read *ε*⟨*υ*⟩*θωμεθ'*—in view of l. 5 a less dangerous solution than might appear.

14. *εισεπειτ*]*α*: cf. e.g. Soph. *Ajax* 35.

15. *πρόσχορδον*: not otherwise known in tragedy.

16. *ν*]*υν* or *δ' ο*]*υν* also possible. *ξεινωι*: for the use of this form in tragedy, v. Liddell & Scott (new ed.), s.v.

17. *συμπλε*]*ιν*: Page. Less likely is *ναυσ*]*ιν*.

483. FRAGMENT OF OLD COMEDY.

Acquired in 1917. 7·8 × 12·2 cm. Second century. PLATE 5.

Fragment from the lower part of two columns of a papyrus roll; the text is written along the fibres in a neat, rounded uncial of the second century. The scholia, in a small

upright semi-cursive, are probably by a second scribe. Change of speakers is indicated as usual by paragraphi; the punctuation, as well as the accent and the apostrophe in l. 10, was probably added by the second hand. The vocabulary suggests that the roll contained a play, no longer extant, of the Old Comedy. The verso is blank.

Col. i.

. . .
]ειν
]
]
]ητὼν οδων· λ̣ ε το εστι
5 μ]ονοκοιτων αει ἄ μαλαττηι
]λωδεν̣[.] .
]
τ]υρβαζετε
]σ̣[.]εγω] . . ε̣γ̣ρ̣οιο( ) ου̣π̣ο . [
]α λαμβαν̣ε̣ι̣ν·
10]΄δ' εκφαγο̣ι
] . [.] παιδιον̣
]ς
. . .

Col. ii.

. . .
. [
σ̣[
15 στ̣[
ελ[
ευδ[
απολ̣[
αμα̣[
20 που[
ολιγ[
διων̣[
ορθω[
τις δε̣[
25 [. . .] . [
. . .

4. The mark above των presumably calls attention to the scholian; $\frac{\lambda}{\epsilon}$ probably = λε(ιπει), as Lobel suggests; the significance of the line above εστι is obscure.

5. μονοκοιτεῖν occurs in Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 592: μονόκοιτος is only cited from the Scholia to Lycophron, 960. The αει is slightly below the level of the line and may have been added later. The scholion probably runs αν(τι του) μαλαττηι, though the α( )ν( ) might stand for the name of a commentator.

7. τυρβάζω occurs several times in Aristophanes, ἀνατυρβάζω in *Equites* 310.

8. The letter I have read as ρ in the scholion might be a ξ: it appears to reach far below the line, unless this is a trace of another scholion in the line below.

10. ἐξεσθίω is found several times in Aristophanes and rarely elsewhere.

484. FRAGMENT OF A COMEDY.

Acquired in 1920. 12·2 × 8·8 cm. Late first to second century. PLATE 9.

This fragment of papyrus preserves on the verso part of two columns, with upper margin, of a literary text, to be attributed without much doubt to a comedy, although neither play nor author can be determined. On the recto are two fragmentary columns of accounts written in a good cursive hand, more probably of the later first century than of

the early second. Of the first column, little besides numerals survives; the second runs as follows:

Πετεχῶν Μάρωνο̣ς Τετ . ( ) [
ιε (ἔτους) γ(ίνεται) (δραχμαὶ) ἑϝ το . . . [
Πεσκαμοῦ̣νις Πα̣νώτου . [
ϐ α ϝ κ(αι) ι ζ ϝ β̣ (ἔτους) (γίνεται) (δραχμαὶ) κ̣α[
Πετω( ) Τεω̣[

The fifteenth year may well be that of Domitian, the second that of Nerva; the former is less likely to be Trajan's, as we might expect a reference to a year later than the fifteenth when the second is mentioned so soon after. (In col. i the thirteenth and the fifteenth years occur.) A fragment of Menander's *Coneazomenae* (P. Ross.-Georg. I, 10) is also written on the verso of an account of the first or second century; but the description of the papyrus leaves little doubt that **484** does not belong to the same MS.

Neither of the two names in this fragment provide any clue to the authorship of the play: Syrus is too common to be significant, while Philostrate is apparently unknown in Greek and Roman comedy. There is no particular reason to connect this fragment with Menander's name, although there is nothing in the language or metre to prohibit us attributing it to him. The situation is almost as vague; the guess may be hazarded that the speaker is just about to set off in pursuit of an intruder who has, perhaps, run off with Philostrate.

The text is written in an attractive and practised book hand with some cursive affinities; its lack of formality and freedom suggest a comparison with texts of the late first rather than of the second century, e.g. P. Ryl. 54, Pl. 4 (which, however, shows consistently an earlier form of α); but the hand has also some points of resemblance with Schubart, *Pap. Graec. Berol.* 22 b, a document of the year 135. There are no accents, stops, or marks of elision; a change of speaker is indicated in the usual way in l. 17.

This papyrus belonged to the small group (which includes **457**, the early fragment of St. John's Gospel) whose origin was stated, in a note in Grenfell's hand, to be either the Fayûm or Oxyrhynchus.

TRANSCRIPTION A

Col. i.

]σεπ̣[.]ληλυθεν
]η̣μετ̣ . στεμουσλογουσ
]νοσ . [.]σεισωφερων
]α[.]χ̣ . α̣ρτονωσε̣χω
]ωνδ̣α̣νθρασυσ
]α̣τουσ̣ . [.]εμεφθασηι
]ν̣ε[. .] . [.]ζεται
] . ι̣γρ̣ουσυρου
]μ̣ει
. . . . .

Col. ii.

οπωσενεργω[
φιλοστρατητου̣[
αυτηγαροποτα[
μικρανδι̣ιερ . [
φυσικωστισ[
ουθενιγαρη̣[
που[
B τ̣α̣χ̣[
. . . . .

TRANSCRIPTION B

Col. i.	Col. ii.
]ς ἐπ̣[ϵ]λήλυθεν	ὅπως ἐν ἔργῳ [
]ημεῤ ὥστ᾽ ἐμοὺς λόγους	Φιλοστράτη τοῦ[
?α]νοσί̣[ω]ς εἴσω φέρων	αὐτὴ γὰρ ὁπότα[ν
]α[.]χ̣ . ἄρτον ὡς ἔχω	μικρὰν δι̣᾽ ἱερ . [
τ]ῶνδ᾽ ἂν θρασύς	φυσικῶς τις [
]α̣τους . [.] ἐμὲ φθάσηι	οὐθένι γὰρ ἡ̣[μῶν
]ν̣ ἐ̣[ξϵ]τ̣[ά]ζεται	ποῦ [
] . ι̣γ̣ρου Σύρου	B τ̣α̣χ̣[
]μει	

2. ημεῤ, though possible, is a less likely reading as the cross stroke of the ν does not usually project beyond the first upright. The space between this letter and the σ is considerable, so that [ω]στ᾽ is preferable to [ϵ]στ᾽.

3. Some way to the right of the first σ a vertical stroke can be clearly seen; if an iota, the gap between the two is rather large (though there seems to be another such pause at the beginning of l. 7); τ and π may be ruled out, as they would give a spondee in the fourth foot, and the stroke is too straight to be the second upright of an η. In the next place a large letter is required; α]νοσι̣[ω]ς is at least a possible reading.

4. There is not much room between the χ̣ and the α̣, but part of a vertical stroke can be seen—ρ seems the most likely letter.

6. The few traces of ink after σ would suit a δ well enough: δ[ι] ϵμϵ would be a possible reading.

7. Exactly 4 letters are required to fill the space between ϵ and ζ, and the slight gap between the ν and the ϵ suggests that the ϵ is the beginning of a word. ϵ[κβ]ι̣[α]ζεται is another likely candidate, but a τ would fill the space better than an ι; hence ϵξεταζεται is preferable. Both words are found in the fragments of Menander.

10. Either ϵν ϵργῳ or ϵνϵργω might be read.

11. As Prof. Fraenkel pointed out to me Φιλοστρατ η το[could be read as well as Φιλοστρατη το[: but in itself it is less likely, and Philostratus gives no better clue to the author or nature of the piece than does Philostrate.

14. φυσικως. Not cited from any comic author in the dictionaries.

15. After γαρ ι̣ . [could also be read.

485. CALLIMACHUS, *IAMBI.*

Acquired in 1920. 6·7 × 6·2 cm. Fourth century. PLATE 5.

This small fragment of a roll, written in a narrow, compressed hand in reddish brown ink, was immediately identified by Mr. E. Lobel as belonging to the *Iambi* of Callimachus; l. 4 is already known from the *Diegeseis* (VII, 19) as the initial verse of the fifth poem in the *Iambi*. The first three lines of **485** are thus the final lines of *Iambi* IV, the choliambic poem, the opening line of which is Εἷς (οὐ γάρ;) ἡμέων, παῖ Χαριτάδεω, καὶ σύ (*Diegeseis*, VII, 1 = Pfeiffer, 9, 206). Recently a considerable portion of *Iambi* V has been recovered in P.S.I. 1216

(originally published, in part, as a fragment of an epode of Archilochus, in *Atene e Roma*, 1933, pp. 7–12); P. Maas in *Gnomon*, 10 (1934), p. 438, originally suggested that this epode should be identified with the poem *Diegeseis*, VII, 19, and the full publication has confirmed this suggestion. P.S.I. 1216 contains part of the last ten or eleven lines of *Iambi* IV, but only the final letters of the lines, so that there is no actual join with **485**; of the opening lines of *Iambi* V there appears to be no trace in P.S.I. 1216, but ll. 15–17 of the latter may correspond with ll. 8–10 of our text.

. . .
. ηρ . [
τοδ . [
εχει̣ [
ω ξεινε συμβουλη [γαρ εν τι των ιρων]
ακουε ταπο καρδ̣[ιης
επει σε δαιμων αλφα βητ̣[
ουχ ως̣ ονηϊστ̣ον . [
αλλ οιον ανδρ̣[.] σ̣υ̣[
και σ[
[ε]δ̣ω̣κε[
. . .

4. This line (*Diegeseis* VII, 19) was first correctly restored by Lobel (see P. Maas, *Gnomon*, 10 (1934), p. 438); with Lobel's reading of the papyrus the comment of the Diegetes on this poem runs: *γραμματο⟨δι⟩δάσκαλον ὄνομα Ἀπολλώνιον, οἱ δὲ Κλέωνά τινα, ἰαμβίζει ὡς τοὺς ἰδίους μαθητὰς καταισχύνοντα ἐν ἤθει εὐνοίας, ἀπαγορεύων τούτωι δρᾶν μὴ ἄλλω.*

5. Cf. Euripides, *I. A.* 475.

6. Cf. Anth. Pal. xi. 437 (Aratus on Diotimus) *Γαργαρέων παισὶν βῆτα καὶ ἄλφα λέγων*, and Callimachus (ed. Pfeiffer) 9, 149 (as revised by Lobel in *Bodleian Quarterly Review*, vi. 139) *μαν]θανόντες οὐδ' ἄλφα.*

486. EPYLLION ON HERO AND LEANDER.

Acquired in 1920. 8·4 × 11·6 cm. Late first century. PLATE 6.

On the recto of this papyrus are two fragmentary columns of accounts; the first gives the amounts received in artabae of corn (the highest sum is $16\frac{27}{50}$), the second the names of the payers (among them Νεστ[, Φανιᾶς, Πολέμ̣[ων]). The hand of this document is remarkable for an ε formed in two distinct strokes, ϵ, and may be dated in the late first century A.D. The text on the verso, written in an upright, rather loose hand with a few cursive letters, is probably very little later.

The fragment of the hexameter poem on the verso is of some interest as its theme was apparently the story of Hero and Leander, which, apart from a few casual references, first appears in Greek literature in the poem of the grammarian Musaeus, assigned to the

fifth century A.D. (see the edition of A. Ludwich, *Kleine Texte*, 98). But any hopes that what we have in this papyrus is the *berühmtes hellenistisches Gedicht* which most editors assume to be the source both of Ovid, *Heroides* 17 and 18, and of Musaeus' poem, are soon dispelled; style and metre alike forbid us to assign so high a place to this text. This actual copy, written on the verso of an account, may well have been intended for school use, although the hand is hardly that of a schoolboy; the verse itself may be no more than a rhetorical exercise. Yet there are one or two unusual words found both here and in Musaeus which may point to a common source; but, as far as can be seen from this small fragment, this poem bore no resemblance to Ovid's version of the story.

A remarkable feature of the text is that word-division is generally observed (the only exceptions being γενοισθεδε in l. 2, καιαστ[in l. 6, τετηκεγαρ in l. 9, and before λαθρ[α] in l. 5); this appears to be the first papyrus in which this system is found (cf. Schubart, *Das Buch*[2], pp. 80 and 180, and C. H. Roberts, *Two Biblical Papyri*, pp. 25 sq., for spacing of κῶλα in early biblical texts), and, as in the Berlin papyrus mentioned by Schubart, *op. cit.*, p. 180, in which the words are divided by vertical strokes, it is probably to be explained by the use of the text in school.

The scene described in our fragment is probably Leander's final journey and death. The first two lines are probably spoken by Hero, an appeal to the elements to favour her lover, in particular to the stars not to shine and so dim the light of the lamp (cf. τυφ[λοι] in l. 2).[1] The rest would then be a description by the author of the poem, in which the evening star is invoked as Leander's helper and guide (cf. Musaeus, l. 111 where, after the sunset

ἐκ περάτης δ' ἀνέτελλε βαθύσκιος Ἔσπερος ἀστήρ).

Leander is addressed in the second person by the poet (as by Musaeus in l. 86); the peculiar form of his name, Λαανδρος, which appears in this text and is nowhere else used of the hero of this story, may be explained either as a pseudo-archaism or as a scribal error (cf. ll. 3 and 8).

I am indebted to Mr. E. A. Barber for some helpful suggestions in connexion with this fragment.

. . . . . .

]δ̣η̣[.]θ̣λον ελ[.] . ο̣[

? ν]ενσητ̣ε γενοισθε δε τυφ̣[λοι]

τ]αχινο̣ς καταδυνεομενο̣ν̣ [

] Λαανδρον ιδιν μ̣ο̣νον ηνδα[νε θυμω]

5 α]ντιαα[[.]]ς παλιν Ε[σ]περε λαθρ[α]

Λαα]νδρε και αστ[. . . .]ι̣ππευ

]ει ν̣υ̣ξ̣ ουραν̣ος ηελιο[ς γη]

] . . λ̣ους οπλεισ[σ]ε̣αι ε̣ν̣ περ[

]ε Λαανδρε [τ]ε̣τηκε γαρ α̣[ινως]

10 φα]εθων τ[η]λεσκοπος ειπε̣[

3. l. καταδυνόμενον. 4. l. ἰδεῖν. 8. l. ὁπλίζεαι.

[1] The plural γενοισθε prevents us from treating these lines as a prayer for the day to close, cf. Musaeus, 287-8 ἀμφότεροι δὲ | πολλάκις ἠρήσαντο κατελθέμεν εἰς δύσιν Ἠῶ.

2. *τυφλοι*: either (i) 'blind to something', metaphorically, or (ii), more probably, 'darkened' as in *τυφλαὶ σπιλάδες* in Anth. Pal. 7. 275. 2.

3. The subject of this line is obscure, but it clearly refers to the sunset. *καταδυνεομενον*: the *ν* is uncertain, but *s* in any case cannot be read.

5. After the second *α* is an unusually thick downstroke followed by a break in the papyrus; it is probable that the scribe started writing the *π* of *παλιν* and then crossed it out, or else wrote *αντιααις*.

6. *ιππευ*. For the representation of Hesperus (and other stars) as young men on horseback cf. *RE.* s.v. Hesperos (viii. 1, 1253); Hesperus is sometimes portrayed as accompanying the Sun, cf. Nonnus, *Dion.* xii. 3, xxxviii. 299. This representation of Hesperus is commoner in art than in literature, but cf. Eur. frag. 999 (Nauck) Ἕῳος ἡνίχ' ἱππότης ἐξέλαμψεν ἀστήρ, and in Latin, Ovid, *Am.* i. 6, 65, Tibullus, 1, 9, 62. Possibly Musaeus had some such passage as this in mind when he wrote *λύχνον ἐμοῦ βιότοιο φαεσφόρον ἡνιοχῆα* (218).

8.] . . *ο̣υς* is also a possible reading.

9. Perhaps *καρτεροθυμ*]*ε Λααν̣δρε* as in Musaeus, 301. *τετηκε κτλ.* This and the following words clearly refer to the flickering lamp (probably l. 10 began with *λύχνος*), called *ἀστέρα λύχνου* in Musaeus, 212, which was extinguished by the storm and was thus the cause of Leander's death (Musaeus, 329 sq.).

10. Perhaps we should put a stop after *τηλεσκοπος* (the word is used of the lamp in Musaeus, 237: *εὐνῆς δὲ κρυφίης τηλεσκόπον ἀγγελιώτην*) and supply *ειπε* [*δ αρ αυτωι*], i.e. at this point Leander addresses the lamp.

487. EPIC FRAGMENT.

15·6 × 9·4 cm. Late third to fourth century.

The papyri have already given us abundant evidence of the popularity of epic verse (sometimes worse than mediocre) in Egypt, from the earliest times of the Greek occupation (cf. P. Hib. 8 and 9, P. Grenfell II. 5) down to the Byzantine age. The present fragment, another witness to the revival of epic verse in Egypt which had its culmination in Nonnus, is peculiar in that its subject is taken directly from the *Odyssey*; in this, as far as I know, it is unique. A possible exception in P. Oxy. 1821 (third century A.D.), containing the opening words of nine hexameters in elegiac lines. L. 1 begins *νοστοιτε̣* . [, l. 4 *μοχθησας δ' απελ* . [, l. 6 *και τοξω μνη*[*στηρ* . . . ? This certainly suggests the return of Odysseus; possibly it is a fragment of the same poem. The greater popularity of the *Iliad* in Egypt is perhaps reflected in the fragments of hexameter verse where the subject is more or less connected with the story of the *Iliad* (cf. e.g. the papyrus published by Vitelli in *Atene e Roma*, vi. 53 (1903), pp. 149 sqq., and the mythological exercises published by Bishop Graves in *Hermathena*, v (1885), pp. 237–57, and identified by Reitzenstein, *Hermes*, xxxv (1900), pp. 103–5), but probably this is no more than the general legacy of the Epic Cycle in which naturally enough the story of Odysseus prior to his re-establishment in Ithaca found no place (the story of his return was omitted from the Νόστοι). The present fragment, undistinguished in style and metre and peculiarly disconnected, is perhaps no more than a school theme; possibly (see note on l. 32) it was a collection of extracts or of exercises on special incidents. But it is worth noting that the vocabulary is little influenced by that of Homer (there appears to be no actual reminiscence of the *Odyssey*), so that it is not a mere hotch-potch of Homeric phrases, and also that, as far as can be seen, the story—the return of Odysseus and his revenge on the suitors—is quite differently handled. On the verso, Odysseus appears to be giving a synopsis of his adventures (or possibly relating

what befell the other Ithacans), probably to Eumaeus, perhaps to Laertes; on the recto, after convincing a hearer of his identity by showing the scar on his thigh (his hearer is probably not Eurycleia to judge from the situation—perhaps Laertes, cf. ω 331), he urges his supporters to arm against the suitors.

The hand is rough and irregular, and degenerates into cursive at the ends of the lines; marks of elision are frequent, but breathings, accents, and punctuation are wanting. The papyrus was found among the early Byzantine papyri which formed part of the original purchase made by Dr. Hunt on behalf of Lord Crawford or Mrs. Rylands.

Verso.

. .
]ελλ[
]δει[
. [. . . . .]ησωδ[. . . . .] . ρνοι [. .] ερ[. .]ετη[.]λ[
δυσμορ[ο]ς Ελπηνωρ τ[ο]ν [[δ]] αφηρπασε δωματα Κιρκης
ικελ[α] Αν[τ]ιφατη και ανδροφαγῳ Πολυφημῳ
αθανα[τ]ου . εσ[. .]ψατ[. . . . .]ρητην αγορευσω
αιγος Αμαλθειας σ . λ . ο [. .] . [. .]εν αιγιοχος Ζευς
[.]υριος ορμα[ι]νουσιν οτειο αρουρ[. . . .] . πις
ου ρα . [.] . θ . . ουθο . . [.]υκ . . . [. . .] . [.]ες [ου]δεν εουσιν
ειμ[ ] ανδρω(ν)
[ ]ι
[ ]οιμων
[ ]ε μακελλαν
[ ]ε ποθ' υδωρ
[ ]ην επι βωλω
[ ]θιος ανηρ
[ ]β[. .]ρες
[ ]κα . [
. . .

Recto.

. . . .
] . . ρατι[
]μωι[
[.]ικ . [.]τ . . . κιο . . . . . [. . α]θληματα [Πη]νελοπειης
μη συ γ' απιστος εης ως ου νοστησεν Οδυσσευς
ουλην εισοραας την μηδ' ιδε Πηνελοπεια
παυεο νυν σταθμοιο Φιλοιτιε κ[α]ι σε μεθησω
μνηστηρας τρομεοντα τεαις συν βουσιν αλασθαι
στησω σοι τεον οικον ελευθερον αλλα και υμεις
αμφ' εμε θωρησσεσθε κατ' Ευρυμαχοιο και αλλω(ν)
μνηστηρων κακοτητος επειρηθητε και υμεις
ικελα Τηλεμαχω και [εχεφρονι Πηνελοπείῃ]

30 βουκολε κατθεο̣[
γεινεο μεν ποτι[
[[. . μ̣]]α[
μ̣αψιδιω̣ς εμα[
εξ̣ο̣τ̣ε τ̣ω̣ν αγελης επ̣[
35 μνηστηρων κακο̣τ̣[ητ
δευρ̣᾽ απ εμου σωθ[
δ̣[.] . . σ̣[
. . .

10. ανδρω̄ P. 27. αλλω̄ P.

ll. 4 sqq.: '. . . unhappy Elpenor whom Circe's palace robbed of life. I will tell tales like unto that (?) of Antiphates and man-devouring Polyphemus . . .'

ll. 21 sqq.: '. . . the hardships of Penelope. That thou mayst not be mistrustful, thinking that Odysseus has not returned, thou seest the scar which not even Penelope hath seen. Leave now thy stable, Philoetius: I will release thee from the fear of the Suitors that thou mayst go thine own way with thy kine. I will set thee up thy house in freedom. But do ye others arm yourselves at my side against Eurymachus and the other suitors; their evil ways ye too have known, like unto Telemachus and steadfast Penelope. Herdsman, do thou set forth . . .'

5. *ικελα*: cf. l. 29. There is no authority for this adverbial use; presumably it is formed on the analogy of *ἴσα*.

8. [*κ*]*υριος* might be read, but is not particularly convincing; *θυριος* (l. *θουριος*) may have been intended. After *ορμᾳ*[*ι*]*γουσιν*, *ετ* could equally well be read as *οτ*, but there is no mark of elision after the *τ*; *οτειο*: perhaps a pseudo-archaic form of *ὅτευ*. The whole passage is so disconnected that I have attempted no reconstruction of ll. 6–9.

10. Perhaps *ειμ*[*Οδυσευς*: i.e. Odysseus discloses his identity to his hearer, Eumaeus or Eurycleia (or do *μακελλαν* and *βωλω* in ll. 13 and 15 imply that he is talking to Laertes?).

21. [*α*]*θλημαται*. Here used in the sense in which Homer occasionally employs *ἄεθλος*, cf. *ψ* 248, 350 (in both passages there is a reference to the sufferings of Penelope).

26. It is not clear to whom *υμεις* refers: Philoetius and Telemachus (cf. ll. 24 and 29) are excluded.

32. Before the *α* are traces of letters deliberately expunged (though the space at the beginning of the line shows no trace of having been written on), but the *α* looks as though it were part of the present text. If so, it is not improbable that *α*[*λλο* should be read, i.e. the text consisted of a series of exercises or extracts.

488. FRAGMENT OF AN ANTHOLOGY.

Acquired in 1917. 2·7 × 15·7 cm. Second century.

On the recto of this papyrus are traces in a very cursive hand, probably of the first half of the second century, of accounts, or perhaps of a register of names; the verso text is in a rounded and neat, but rather small book hand, probably not much later than the hand on the recto. The fragment contains the final words of 38 lines, separated by a gap after l. 9; those after the gap are fairly clearly hexameter verses, probably epic in character, but, unless we assume that *τυχιη* (l. 8) is a mistake on the scribe's part (e.g. for *α*]*τυχοίη*), the first nine will not answer to this description. It is possible that these were elegiacs (cf. the short line 3, but l. 5 does not readily suggest a pentameter ending), and that the papyrus

itself was an anthology of poems in different metres; if, as seems possible, the content of the verses was astrological, **488** would be closely analogous to P.Oxy. 464, a collection of astrological epigrams in hexameters or elegiacs. There are no accents or punctuation; but an apostrophe may be noticed in l. 22. The correction in l. 26 is in the first hand.

. . . .
]ε̣[.] . [.]ει
μ]ε̣λημα
]ι̣ν
υ]π̣τιο̣ν ω̣ρης
]ης μαλαπ[
τ]ετευχως
]α̣λης
]υς εισιδε̣ [
]τυχιη
]
]τ̣εχοντα
π]αναριστη [
]μ̣ακαρισ[τ
]εμμετ[
] . ταδε σ[
]ε̣κατημ[
] ι̣θυνοντ[
] πυροεις τ[
] τριγων[
]κε τα πα[
]ε τριγω[
]τον εστ[
]πος εστ' ε[
]λοχοιο
]ν δε τυχ̣[
]νων δε[
] εφοδ[[α]]ο΄ι[
]ωστε τρα̣[
] μετοχο[
]ποτε η̣θ̣[
]ς εμαθ[
]ν υπ αυ[
]οσοριζω̣
]ισι παρ[
] αυξη θ̣[
]λισιν ευ[
]δεσιν [
]τρα̣υ̣[
]ι̣π̣[
. . . .

8. εϊσιδε P. 31. ϋπ P.

17. Πυροεις: perhaps a proper name, the planet Mars, which is frequently mentioned by Manetho.

18. τριγωνος (cf. also l. 20) is used by Aeschylus (*P.V.* 813) of the Egyptian Delta; the allusion may be the same here. It is applied to the stars by Manetho, e.g. i. 346, ii. 348.

489. LYSIAS Ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἐρατοσθένους φόνου and Ὑπὲρ Ἐρυξιμάχου.

Acquired in 1920. 12·3 × 24 cm. Late third to fourth century A.D. PLATE 10.

This papyrus consists of the inner half of a leaf from a papyrus codex, the other half of which was acquired by the British Museum and published as P. Lond. Inv. 2852 by H. J. M. Milne in *J.E.A.* xv (1929), pp. 75–7, under the title *A New Speech of Lysias.* The join is close, so much so that a horizontal strip which projects from the London fragment fits exactly into its place and forms ll. 11–12 of col. i recto, the rest of which is contained in the Rylands papyrus. The London fragment is smaller but much better

preserved than **489**, which is considerably more worm-eaten and in parts badly rubbed. (This may perhaps indicate that the separation of the two pieces is not of recent occurrence.) The codex, as was already clear from the London fragment, had two columns to the page, so that the two fragments together provide us with four columns of varying degrees of completeness, of which the Rylands fragment contributes i (with the exception of the horizontal strip already mentioned and the final letters of a few lines) and iv, the London fragment ii and iii. With Mr. Milne's permission, I have reprinted the London text (with the alterations necessitated by the new fragment in col. i), since the addition to the new speech Ὑπὲρ Ἐρυξιμάχου μείναντος ἐν ἄστει is considerable and it may be of advantage to have all that remains of it assembled together.

For a palaeographical description of the MS. the reader may be referred to Mr. Milne's article. It may be as well to repeat here that the punctuation is marked only by paragraphi and (irregularly) by spacing, and that apart from the horizontal lines to mark contraction there are no other signs. **489** has preserved the lower margin of the leaf—5 cm. in depth—so that we can more easily calculate the size of the leaf and the number of lines to a column; assuming that the upper margin (which, together with the initial lines of each column, is completely lost) was equivalent to the lower, we can estimate that a page of the codex was *c.* 32 cm. in height and 25 cm. in width, and that each column consisted of *c.* 45 lines. Mr. Milne assigns the script to the early fourth century; but although papyrus codices containing non-Christian literature are rare before the fourth century (see, however, in this volume **498** and **549**), a certain freedom and absence of the rigid formality common in fourth-century MSS. of this type suggests to me that a date in the later third century should not be excluded. While **489** was not accompanied by any indication of provenance, Mr. Milne was able to assign P. Lond. 2852 definitely to Oxyrhynchus.

As Mr. Milne has pointed out, the text of Oratio I, Ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἐρατοσθένους φόνου, in our papyrus is older by eight centuries than the Heidelberg codex (Codex Palatinus 88), on which we are mainly dependent for the text of Lysias. His statement, however, that the papyrus does not support the changes proposed by Herwerden now needs qualification as the papyrus clearly gives τὰ τοιαῦτα in l. 15. Divergences from the accepted text of this speech are numerous, but rarely convincing, and our faith in the authority of the papyrus is shaken by the unredeemed confusion in which it is involved in ll. 26 sqq. The text has been collated with that of Hude (Oxford Classical Texts).

The main interest of the papyrus lies in the new speech—Ὑπὲρ Ἐρυξιμάχου μείναντος ἐν ἄστει—to which the Rylands fragment makes a substantial contribution. Mr. Milne put forward the attractive suggestion that the Eryximachus for whom it was written was the scholarly and sophistic doctor of the *Symposium*, nor is it in itself surprising that a member of the Socratic circle should be impeached for sympathy with the oligarchs, nor—even if the speech was complete—would we expect him to mention on such an occasion his relationship to such a suspect body. Against this must be set the very probable hypothesis advanced by Burnet (*Greek Philosophy*, Part I, p. 190) that the Eryximachus of the *Symposium* is to be identified with the Eryximachus mentioned by Andocides (I, 35) as being involved together with Acumenus (and that was the name of the physician's father) and others in the profanation of the mysteries in 415. Andocides further asserts that all those whom he

names in that passage either fled the country or were arrested and executed; that any of them should be living in Athens in 403 or after is somewhat improbable. But the Rylands fragment is, I think, decisive. This makes it clear that the Eryximachus for whom Lysias wrote this speech not only fought at Aegospotami (the context does not allow us to think of any other battle), but was a στρατηγός on that occasion—at least the words τῶν ἐμῶν τριηρά[ρχ]ων in l. 106 hardly allow of any other interpretation. (Only three of the strategi of that year are known to have taken part in Aegospotami—Conon, Adeimantus, and Philocles—and though we have the names of eleven strategi in all for that year, some of these were elected after the battle to fill the gaps left by death or absence; hence there is room for a new strategus, cf. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*,[2] ii. 2, 268, and Krause, *Attische Strategenliste*, pp. 14 and 46.) If it is unlikely that the rather professional physician of the *Symposium* should be elected strategus in 405, it is inconceivable that any one implicated in the affair of 415 should hold that office in 405. I think, therefore, that the identification with the Socratic doctor must be reluctantly abandoned. Nothing is known of any other Eryximachus in this period, although the name is known from IG. II². 3063 as that of the father of a certain Eryxias who was χορηγός sometime between 400 and 350; it is certainly strange that he is not mentioned by any of our authorities for Aegospotami.[1] According to the generally accepted account (Xenophon, *Hell.* ii. 1, 29; Plutarch, *Lysander*, 11) Conon's squadron, together with the Paralus, was the only one to escape. The number of ships is variously given as nine (Xenophon and Plutarch) or ten (Diodorus, xiii. 106), while Lysias (xxi. 11) mentions twelve ships as being saved, one of them being that of his client, another that of his client's friend Nausimachus. The explanation probably is that Conon's was the only squadron to evade the enemy; a few other scattered ships made good their escape either direct to Athens, or perhaps to Sestos, where Lysander, the victory over, treated the men with some mercy and sent them back to Athens. None the less it is surprising that Eryximachus, especially if he was a strategus, should return to Athens and go on living there under the restored democracy—it was long before Conon dared to return—and that no more serious charge should be brought against him.

The charge itself—μείναντος ἐν ἄστει—is peculiar; not only does it appear an indefinite accusation to bring at any time, but after 403 it would seem to involve a flagrant breach of the amnesty issued by the democrats on their return to Athens. That the charge was malicious, perhaps an attempt to enlist political passion in the cause of a private quarrel, at any rate that the political issue was not serious, may be inferred from the fact that such a devoted democrat as Lysias, who had suffered heavily from the persecution of the Thirty, composed the speech. Incidentally, the papyrus may solve a problem connected with Oratio XXI, which goes under the title of Ἀπολογία δωροδοκίας. The title of this speech is not improbably spurious and the name of the client for whom it was written is unknown; no specific charge can be clearly deduced from the speech, though it has been thought that the charge was one of unsuitability to hold an office; if so, it is strange that no particular office is named. The situation of Lysias' client in that speech—he also had saved his

[1] It is possible that the Eryximachus of this speech should be identified with the brother-in-law of the Athenian general Chabrias mentioned by Demosthenes, xl. 24; but the latter would have been rather young to have been a strategus at Aegospotami (cf. the *stemma* of his family in Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*, i, p. 256). I owe the suggestion to Mr. M. N. Tod.

trireme at Aegospotami and voices his claim to his country's gratitude in much the same language as does Eryximachus—is very similar to that of Eryximachus, and it seems not improbable that in his case, too, the charge was one of 'staying in the city'. It is clear from another speech, XVI Ὑπὲρ Μαντιθέου, which also bears some resemblance to ours, that even as late as 394–89 (when XVI was probably composed) the mere suspicion of connexion with the Thirty was sufficient to arouse prejudice, and the frequent occurrence of the phrase μεῖναι ἐν ἄστει in the speeches of Lysias shows that it was a stock charge regularly hurled against all who had not made their allegiance to the democracy conspicuous by withdrawing to the Peiraeus in 403. No date can be assigned to the speech; XVI shows that it may be as late as fourteen years after the event on which the charge was founded.

In col. i, recto, the few words or letters preserved in the London fragment are printed in heavy type. Accents, breathings and punctuation have been inserted throughout to preserve conformity with the London publication.

Recto.

Col. i. P. Ryl. 489.

. . . . . [κίν-] | των ἧττον εἰς τοὺς ἄλ-
[δυ]νο̣ν̣ [ἐκινδύνευσο]ν εἰ | λους ἐξαμαρτήσον[τ]α̣ι
[μὴ] τ̣ὸ̣ [μέγιστον τῶν] ἀ̣δ̣ι- | ἐὰν καὶ ὑμᾶς ὁρῶσι τὴ(ν)
κ̣η̣μ̣ά̣[τω]ν̣ [ἦν ὑπ᾽ αὐτ]ο̣[ῦ] | αὐτὴν ἔχοντας γνώμη(ν).
§ 46 ἠδικ̣η̣[μένος; ἔπειτα] π̣α̣- | § 48 εἰ δὲ μή, πολὺ κά̣λλειον
ρακαλέ̣[σας αὐ]τὸς μ̣ά̣ρ̣τυ- | τοὺς μὲν κειμένο̣υς νό-
ρας ἠσέ̣[βου]ν̣, ἐξόν [μ]ο̣ι, εἴ- | μ̣ο̣υς ἐξαλεῖψαι, ἑτέρο̣υ̣ς
περ ἀδίκ̣ω̣ς̣ α̣ὐτὸν ἐπ̣ε̣[θ]ύ- | δὲ τιθέναι οἵτινες μὲ(ν)
μουν ἀ̣[πο]λ[έ]σα̣ι μ̣η̣δ̣έ̣να | φυλάττοντε̣ς̣ τ̣[ὰς] ἑαυτῶν
μοι τ̣ο̣ύ̣τ̣ω̣ν̣ [σ]υ̣νειδέ̣να[ι;] | γυναῖκας τ . [. .] . . [.]υ̣ς̣ ταῖς
§ 47 ἐγὼ μὲν ο̣[ὖ]ν̣, ὦ ἄνδρες | ζημία̣[ι]ς̣ ζ̣[η . .]σ̣ουσιν, τοῖς
δικασταί, [οὐ]κ ἰ[δί]αν ὑπ̣[ὲρ] | δὲ βουλο̣μ̣έ̣νοις εἰς αὐτοὺς
ἐ̣μ̣α̣υ̣τ̣[ο]ῦ̣ **νομίζω γενέσ**[θαι] | ἐξαμαρτάνειν πολλὴν
[τὴν] **τ̣ιμωρίαν, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ** | § 49 ἀ̣δ̣[ε]ιαν π̣[οι]ήσουσιν. πολὺ
τ̣ῆ̣ς̣ π̣ό̣λεως ἀ̣π̣ά̣σ̣[ης]. ο̣[ἱ] γ̣ὰ̣ρ̣ | [γὰ]ρ οὕτω δικαιότερον ἢ
τὰ τοιαῦτα πράττοντες ὁ̣ρ̣ῶ̣(ν)- | [ὑπὸ τῶν] ν̣[όμ]ων τοὺς πο-
τες οἷα τὰ ἆθλα πρόκειται | [λίτας ἐνεδρεύ]ε̣σθαι οἳ
τῶ̣ν̣ τοι[ο]ύτων ἁμαρτημά-

11. ϋπερ P. 15. ορω̄ P. 20. τῃ̄ P. 21. γνωμῃ̄ P. 22. l. κάλλιον. 25. με̄ P.

Col. ii. P. Lond. Inv. 2852.

. . . . . | ἐν ἄστει
[ἀ]πολογία | μάλιστα μὲν ἐβουλόμη(ν),
περὶ τοῦ Ἐ̣ρ̣α̣τοσθέ- | ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, μὴ
νους φόνου | κινδυνεύειν μήτε ἰδίᾳ
ὑπὲρ Ἐρυξιμά | πρὸς τῶν πολειτῶν μη-
χου μείναντος | δένα μήτε δημοσίᾳ πρὸς
| τὴν πόλιν, εἰ δὲ μή, τοῦ-

το γοῦν ἐμαυτῷ συνειδέ-
[ναι ὅτι ο]ὐδὲν ἀδικῶν
[εἰς ἀγῶνα καθ]έστηκα.

[. . . . . γνων]α̣ι, ὦ ἄν-
[δρες δικασταί, ...] . υ
[ ]ν̣

38. ϋπερ P. 41. εβουλομῆ P. 44. l. πολιτῶν.

Verso.

Col. iii. P. Lond. Inv. 2852.

[. .]υ[
[.]ν[
[.]υ[
[.]υτ̣[
[.]τι̣[
ξ̣ο̣ν[
κατη̣[γορ . . . . . ἀπολο-]
γήσομαι. [οὐ γὰρ διὰ τὴν]
τῶν ἐχθρῶν πον[η]ρ̣[ίαν]
ἀξιῶ σώζεσθαι̣ ἀ̣λλὰ
πολὺ μᾶ[λλον] διὰ τὴν ἐ-
μαυτοῦ χρηστότητα. διὰ
τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τῷ σώματι
π[ο]λλοὺς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κι(ν)-
δύνους ἐκινδύνευσα,
καὶ τῶν πατρῴων πολλὰ
προθύμως εἰς ὑμᾶς
ἀνήλωσα, ἵνα καὶ ἡ πόλις
κατὰ τοὐμὸν μέρος εὐδ[αί]-
μων εἴη, καὶ εἴ ποτε ἀδί̣κ̣[ω]ς
εἰς ἀγῶνα κατασταίην
θαρρῶν περὶ τῶν ἐμαυ-
τῷ πεπραγμένων λό-
γον διδοίην. ῥᾴδιον μὲ(ν)
οὖν γνῶναι, ὦ ἄνδρες δι-
κασταί, ὅτι εἴπερ ἐδύναν̣-
το οἱ κατήγοροι ἰδ̣[ίᾳ ἐμὲ]
ἀδικοῦντα ἐ[φευρεῖν οὐ-]
κ ἄν τι̣ς̣ [
την̣ [
. . . . .

66. ϋπερ ϋμων κῑ P. 69. ϋμας P. 70. ϊνα P. 76. με̄ P. 79. ϊδ[P.

Col. iv. P. Ryl. 489.

. . . . .
ε̣[c. 18 letters]
ξ̣η̣ρ̣[c. 17 „]
λω̣ν[. . . . . .] . [. .]
νθ̣ε̣[. . . . . .]ε̣π̣ .
π̣ε̣π̣[.] . [. . . . . .]γι̣[.]ς̣
δ[.]κ̣[.] . . . . χω ην[. . .]θ̣α
εἰ τιν̣[.]ς̣ . α̣λλ̣[. .]σχ̣ει[.]ιυ̣
[.] . α . α̣ . [. . . .]υ̣[. . .]ν̣ ἐγὼ
δὲ ν̣ὴ Δ̣[ία . . .] . ωδ̣[.] τ̣ὴ̣(ν)
ἀλλ̣[αγ]ὴ̣[ν . . . . . .]ω̣ν̣ ἀπο
λε[. . .]ι̣[. . . .]π̣[. .] ὑπ̣ὲρ̣ ἐ-
μαυ̣το̣[ῦ . . .] ἀ̣[πο]φ̣ῆναι ἐ-
ὰν ἀδ[ικῶ]ν̣ ἁλίσ̣κωμαι
καὶ χ[ά]ρ̣ι̣ν̣ κομίζεσθαι ἐ-
ὰ̣ν το[.] . ω̣ν̣υ̣ . [.]ν̣ ἄξ̣ι̣ος ἂ-
[ν] ἦν . . σ̣αι εξο̣[. .] . ἃ δ' ἔ-
π̣[α]θο̣[ν] ἀ̣π' αὐτῶν ἀπολογήσο-
μαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ἐγὼ γὰρ
πολλὰ κακὰ ποι̣[ή]σ̣α̣ς̣ τ̣ο̣ὺς
πολεμίους κατέπλε[υ-]
σα σώσας ἐκ τῆς ναυμα-
χίας τὴ̣ν̣ ἐμαυτοῦ τριήρη
καὶ τελευτησάσ̣η̣⟨ς⟩ ἕ̣να ἐκ̣
τῶν ἐμ̣ῶ̣ν τριηρά[ρχ]ω̣ν̣ [. .]
. . ἀπ̣έλυσα ἤδη τῶν τοίχ̣ω̣(ν)
καθηρημένων. καὶ ἐ-
πὶ τῶν τριάκοντα, ὦ ἄν̣-
δρες δικασταί, οὐδεὶς ἂν̣
ἐμὲ ἀποδεῖξαι δύναιτο
ἢ βουλεύσαντα ἢ ἀρχὴν̣
ἄρξαντα· ἀπαγαγόντ̣ω̣ν̣ δ̣ὲ̣

αὐτῶν ἐχθρῶν τινα̣ [τι]μ̣[ω-] κατάλογο̣ν τῶν μ̣ε̣τ̣ὰ̣ Λυσά(ν)-
ρησάμενο̣ν ἢ δ̣ίᾳ̣ιταν κ[α-] δρο̣υ τ[ιν]ᾳ̣ ἐν[γρ]ά̣ψαντα
ταδιαιτησάμε[ν]ο̣̣ν ἢ εἰς τὸ̣(ν) ἢ τ̣[. . . .]ισχ . [. .] . ν γινε̣

91. τῆ P. 93. ὕπερ P. 107. l. τειχῶν. τοιχῷ P. 116. τῶ P. 117. λυσᾶ P.

35–50. 'On behalf of Eryximachus, charged with having stayed in the city.

I should prefer above all things, gentlemen of the jury, to be exposed to no dangers, either in a private suit against any citizen or in a public suit against the State, but if that is impossible, to have a clear conscience on this point at any rate, that I am in my present dangerous position through no misconduct of my own. This you may know, gentlemen of the jury . . .'

59–82. '. . . I will say this in answer to the accusation. For I do not base my claim to acquittal so much on the villainy of my enemies as on my own good character. For my object in exposing my person to so many hazards on your behalf and in spending ungrudgingly so much of my inheritance in your interests was that the State might prosper, as far as it lay with me to secure this, and that, were I ever brought into court on a false charge, I might with confidence render an account of my career. You will then easily realize, gentlemen of the jury, that if my accusers had been able to find me out in some private misconduct, they would not (have laid at my door the wrongdoings of the Thirty Tyrants . . .).'

98–119. '. . . I will urge in my defence before you what I myself have suffered as a result of my conduct (?). For after inflicting much damage on the enemy I sailed home, thus bringing my own trireme safe out of the battle, and after it was over, at a time when the Walls were already being pulled down, I ransomed one of my own trierarchs. In the time of the Thirty Tyrants no one, gentlemen of the jury, could point to me as having served on the Boule or as having held any office in the time of the Thirty Tyrants, nor, in the time of the inquisition, as having taken vengeance on any of my enemies either by getting an arbitration given against him or by enrolling his name on the list of those who were with Lysander . . .'

3. For reasons of spacing the *ἦν* of the medieval MSS. is preferable to Hude's *ἦ*.

5. *παρακα̣λέ̣[σας*: probably corrected from *παρακε̣λε̣[σας*.

7. *ἐπεθύμουν αὐτόν* MSS.

11. *δικασταί*: not found in any of the MSS.

12. The MSS. insert *ταύτην* between *νομίζω* and *γενέσθαι*.

15. With the scanty evidence of the London fragment, Milne concluded that there was no room for Herwerden's supplement *τά* before *τοιαῦτα*—reasonably enough, for as it stands, this line, with twenty-three letters, is longer than any other in the text. No support, however, is given to Herwerden's insertion of *κοινήν* after *ἀλλά* in l. 13.

19. The papyrus supports the other MSS. against *ἐξαμαρτήσουσιν* which is the original reading of X (later corrected). The traces just below the end of this line, which Milne read as *σ̣ι* and which he thought might be a trace of the alternative reading, can now be seen to be due to the mark of abbreviation over *τή(ν)* in the subsequent line.

20. *καί*. Here the papyrus supports X against the *δέ* of N, and the *γε* of M^c.

21. *γνώμην ἔχοντας* MSS.

25 sqq. *τιθέναι* the papyrus: *θεῖναι* MSS. In these lines the text of the papyrus is seriously corrupt. The true reading is *οἵτινες τοὺς μὲν φυλάττοντας τὰς ἑαυτῶν γυναῖκας ταῖς ζημιαῖς ζημιώσουσι κτλ*. What happened, presumably, was that *τούς* was first lost and the *φυλάττοντας* was changed to *-ες*. What the reading of the papyrus was in l. 27 is quite uncertain; the eighth letter from the end looks rather like a *χ*, but if *μοιχούς* is read there is only room for two letters between it and *γυναῖκας*. The MSS. record no trace of any intervening words between *γυναῖκας* and *ταῖς*. In l. 28 *ζημιώσουσιν* cannot have been written in full: there is just room enough to read *ζ[ημι⟨ω⟩]σ̣ουσιν*. The MSS. read *ζημιώσουσι*.

29. *αὐτάς* MSS.: *αὐτούς* (i.e. *νόμους*) the papyrus: there can be no doubt that the MSS. reading is the correct one.

31. *ποιήσουσι* MSS.

40. The phrase *μεῖναι ἐν ἄστει* is continually coming in the speeches of Lysias and was obviously used as a catchword to brand any one suspected of anti-democratic tendencies. Cf. xxv. 1 *ὑμῖν μὲν πολλὴν συγγνώμην*

ἔχω . . . ὁμοίως ἅπασιν ὀργίζεσθαι τοῖς ἐν ἄστει μείνασι: xxv. 18: xxvi. 16 *καίτοι γε αὐτὸν ἀκούω λέξειν ὡς οὐ περὶ αὐτοῦ μόνον ἡ δοκιμασία ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ περὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν ἄστει μεινάντων, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ τὰς συνθήκας ὑμᾶς ὑπομνήσειν, ὡς ἐκ τούτων προσληψόμενον αὐτὸν δοκιμαστὰς τοὺς ἐν ἄστει μείναντας.*

63. For this candid expression of his own worth cf. Oratio XVI, 2.

78. Cf. Oratio XXV (*Δήμου καταλύσεως ἀπολογία*), 5 *εἴπερ ἐδύναντο οἱ κατήγοροι ἰδίᾳ με ἀδικοῦντα ἐξελέγξαι, οὐκ ἂν τὰ τῶν τριάκοντα ἁμαρτήματα ἐμοῦ κατηγόρουν.* The first clause is so exact a parallel to ll. 78–9 that I thought it might perhaps be continued, and that in 80 sqq. we should read *ἀδικοῦντα ἐ[ξελέγχειν οὐ-]κ ἂν τὰ [τῶν τριάκοντα ἁμαρ-]|τημ[ατα* κτλ. But though *τημ[* can be read in l. 82, Milne informs me that the letter after *τ* in l. 81 is tall and too near to the *τ* to be *α*. With *κατήγοροι* in l. 79 *τίς* comes in rather awkwardly.

82. Between this and the next column there is a gap of about fifteen lines.

97. The traces do not suit *τοὐνάντιον*.

100 sqq. Cf. the similar speech, XXI, 8 *ἢ πόσα τοὺς πολεμίους εἰργάσθαι κακά*; referring in part at least, as the sequel shows, to the speaker's conduct at Aegospotami.

101. Unless this is a rhetorical exaggeration, the damage inflicted by Eryximachus on the enemy can hardly be other than the removal of the sails of Lysander's fleet carried out by Conon before he sailed to Cyprus. No account of the battle suggests that any trireme which escaped can have done any serious fighting.

104. Cf. XXI, 9 *ἐγὼ τήν τε ἐμαυτοῦ ναῦν ἐκόμισα* κτλ.

105 sqq. The reading *τελευτησάσῃ⟨ς⟩* (sc. *τῆς ναυμαχίας*) is neither certain nor very satisfactory. But *τελευτήσας* is not used in the sense of *τελευτῶν*—certainly not in Lysias—nor can any form of the participle beginning with *τελευτησαν-* be read. The letter before *ἀπέλυσα* in 107 looks like a *σ*, but the space does not allow us to read *αὐ|τός*.

107. Cf. XVI, 4, P. Oxy. 1606 (Lysias, *πρὸς Ἱπποθέρσην*), 196.

108 sqq. Cf XXV, 14 *οὐ τοίνυν οὐδ' ἐπειδὴ οἱ τριάκοντα κατέστησαν, οὐδείς με ἀποδείξει οὔτε βουλεύσαντα οὔτε ἀρχὴν οὐδεμίαν ἄρξαντα.* Cf. also XVI, 3.

115 sqq. Cf. XXV, 16 *οὐ τοίνυν οὐδ' εἰς τὸν κατάλογον Ἀθηναίων καταλέξας οὐδένα φανήσομαι οὐδὲ δίαιταν καταδιαιτησάμενος οὐδενὸς* κτλ. To enroll a man in the 'list of the Athenians' is clearly as good a way of satisfying a grudge as getting an arbitration given against him; and as the latter procedure is disclaimed here, in a very similar case, it seems probable that the former should be identified with the *κατάλογος τῶν μετὰ Λυσάνδρου*. I have found two other references to this expression, both in the speeches of Isocrates, 18. 16 and 21. 2; the former runs *νῦν δὲ οὐδένα φανήσομαι τῶν πολιτῶν . . . οὔτε ἐκ μὲν τῶν μετεχόντων τῆς πολιτείας ἐξαλείψας, εἰς δὲ τὸν μετὰ Λυσάνδρου κατάλογον ἐγγράψας.* The context makes it obvious that Isocrates is referring to the period of the rule of the Thirty, not to that of the restored democracy. I have found no other reference to or explanation of 'the list of those with Lysander': but it seems likely that the names of well-known democrats were expunged from the citizen roll by the Thirty in 404 and sent to serve in Lysander's forces (it is clear from the passage of Isocrates already quoted that the latter penalty involved the former also); and that this was one of the many ways in which, during that period, private feuds were settled by political methods.

In the general confusion occasioned by the confiscation of property by the Thirty, and the number of citizens exiled by both sides, there must have been an unusual number of suits requiring arbitration.

490. ANONYMI PHILIPPICA.

Acquired in 1920. (a) 10·5 × 16·2 cm. (b) 10·5 × 28·5 cm. Third century B.C. PLATE 8.

The two fragments comprising the text do not touch at any point, but their relationship can be determined by internal evidence; on the extreme left side of fragment (b) are the final letters of the first eighteen lines of col. ii of fragment (a), while for the lower part of

the same column we have to rely on fragment (b) alone. In all there are parts of three consecutive columns. The text, written along the fibres of the papyrus, is in a hand of a distinctively third century type and may in all probability be referred to the early part of that century. The hand may be compared with that of the Elephantine Scolia, BKT. V. xv—*c.* 300 B.C. (for the date see Schubart, *Pal.*, p. 101)—although the ω in the latter is of an earlier type, and also with P. Petr. XXIV (2), a legal document of 270 B.C. The writing is of the free and open type in which individual letters vary so much in size that it is impossible to estimate exactly how many are missing in a given gap: ο and θ are both small, ν, α, π, μ, and τ all occupy a considerable space (the cross-bar of the last named letter extends further to the left than to the right). There were thirty-one lines to a column; the number of letters in a line varying from thirteen to twenty-one, with an average of about sixteen. In its present condition, at least, neither upper nor lower margin measures more than 2·3 cm. The space between the columns averages *c.* 1·8 cm.—in one place the last letter of one line (15) must have touched the first letter of another (32). The format is somewhat unusual for the period; as a rule the height of a roll in the third century B.C. was considerablyless than 28 cm. (v. Schubart, *Das Buch*², p. 57), while such narrow columns of writing are also foreign to the period (*ibid*, p. 63). There are no points, accents, or other signs; paragraphi occur under lines 53 and 60.

The early date of the papyrus adds considerably to its interest, since it is probably not much more than half a century later than the events it describes. The period covered in these two fragments is the years 340–337: the treatment is cursory to a degree and the style bald. It does not appear to be arranged on definitely annalistic principles, and on this, as on other grounds (e.g. the attention paid to the fortunes of Thebes and Persia), the suggestion that it was an Ἀτθίς may be ruled out (see note to l. 8). Some of its omissions are so startling (e.g. while the defeat of Proxenus and Chares before Amphissa is recorded, no mention is made of the capture of Amphissa itself; the number and treatment of the Theban prisoners after Chaeronea is set down, but no account is given of the terms of peace imposed on Athens and Thebes) that, combined with the abrupt and bare narrative style, they suggest that the present text is no more than the epitome of some longer work. If so, it may well be an abridgement of a *Philippica* (see the list in Jacoby, *Fr. Gr. Hist.* ii, p. 4), a work describing the career and achievements of Philip of Macedon, such as we know both Theopompus and Anaximenes of Lampsacus wrote; in favour of the hypothesis it may be mentioned that a distinct bias in Philip's favour is traceable in the account of the treatment of the Theban prisoners (but see note to l. 53), such as might be expected in a work circulating in Ptolemaic Egypt among the second generation of Philip's veterans. A small fragment of an epitome of Theopompus on papyrus has been known for some time (P. Ryl. **19**); while in favour of Anaximenes of Lampsacus, also author of a *Philippica*, it might be urged that part of his treatise of rhetoric has been found on a papyrus of the third century B.C. (P. Hib. 26). The events so briefly dealt with here were recounted by Theopompus in Books 47–57 of his *Philippica* and by Anaximenes in Book 8 of his work. The brevity of the present text does not allow us to suppose that it is part of the actual text either of Theopompus or of Anaximenes; indeed the presence of hiatus in our text is sufficient proof of this.

Prof. F. E. Adcock, to whom, with Mr. H. T. Wade Gery, I am much indebted for helpful suggestions in the interpretation and reconstruction of this text, points out that a comparison with the account of the years in Diodorus does not suggest that we have before us any source that he used.

Col. i.

[ ]ξας
[ ]θ̣[. .]του Φιλιπ
[που]κ̣ε̣ν̣τ̣ε̣ [[. . .]]
[και μαχη]ς γενομενης
[ραδιως ε]̣νικησεγ και
[τον βασι]λ̣εα αυτων
[Ατεαν απε]κ̣τεινεν
[ε]πι τουτου
[αρχοντος οι] Α̣θηναιοι
[πανδημ]ε̣ι εξ̣ηλθον
[εις Βοιωτι]αν κωλυ
[σοντες πα]ρελθειν
[Φιλιππον] ε̣ισω πυλων
[ ]αν δε και
[ ] . Φωκ[ιω]̣ν ηγειτο̣
[ ] . κοσιε̣[. . . .]ας
[ ] . . [ ]
. . . . .

Col. ii.

παρελ[θων ενικησεν]
αυτο[υς κ]αι π[ολ]
λους μεν τω[ν στρα]
τιωτων απ[εκτειν]ε̣ν
πολλους δε ζ[ωντ]α̣ς
ελαβεν ολιγ[οι δε τι]νες
μετα Χαρητ̣[ος του]
των Αθηνα[ιων στρ]α̣
[τη]γου εσωθη̣[σαν]
[σ]υ̣ν̣ελεγησα[ν δε ουν ο]ι
Θη̣βαιοι κα̣[ι Αθηναιοι] και
οι τουτω[ν συμμα]
χοι εις Χα[ιρωνειαν]
κ̣αι μαχ[ ].
[α]υ̣το[ ]α̣
Μακεδ[ ]
του φ̣[ ]α̣
δ̣ο̣υ̣ς ρ[ ] .

[ ]ν̣
[ ]
[ ]
[ ] . s
[ ]υ
[ ]γο
[ ]ρ̣α
[ ]χος
[ ]ο̣λβ̣[. . .]σεας
[ ] Αθη̣ναιων . τ̣ε̣
[ ]ε̣νης ελη̣φθ̣η̣
[ ]ζ̣ωντες τ[.]
[ ]ι̣ των Θη-

Col. iii.

βαιων πε[ελα]
βε δε και τ[ων αλλων]
Θηβαιων [τους πλειστ]
τους αιχ[μαλωτους και]
χρηματ[α πραξων εδησε]
τους δ αλ̣[λους αφη]
κεν εφοδι̣[α διαδι]
δους εκασ[τω]
τελευτ[ων δε αυ]
των . [ ]
των Θ[ηβαιων απε]
στειλ[εν οι δε Αθηναιοι]
ὲ̣ποιησ[αντο φιλιαν και]
συμμ[αχιαν]
προς Φι[λιππον εποι]
ησαντ[ο δε οι Πελοπον]
νησιοι π[λην των]
Λακεδα̣[ιμονιων]
τωι κι . [ ]
ας και ο[ ]
νησων [η]
γαγεν α[ ]
και Αρτο̣[ξερξην τον Περ]

[σω]ν βασ[ιλεα ο νιος] ξ̣[ε]ρξης [ ]
[αυ]του Α̣ρ̣[σης] δ̣[. .]ιδ[ ]
. [.] . ενε[ ] β̣ . ους [ ]
75 [.] . [. .] τα [ο δε Αρτο] [.] ο̣ν̣ . [ ]

ll. 4 sq. '. . . a battle took place in which Philip was easily victorious and slew their king Ateas. In the magistracy of . . . the Athenians marched into Boeotia with their full forces to prevent Philip passing within the Gates. They also (sent an expedition) under the command of Phocion . . .'

ll. 18 sq. '. . . Philip crossed the pass and defeated them. Many of the soldiers he slew and many he captured alive; some few escaped in safety with Chares, the Athenian general. The Athenians and the Thebans and their allies assembled their forces again at Chaeronea and fighting . . .'

ll. 49 sq. '. . . Further he took most of the other Thebans prisoner and imprisoned them with the intention of exacting payment from them. But the rest he discharged, providing each man with journey-money . . . Finally (? taking pity on them) he sent home (most) of the Thebans as well. After this, the Athenians made a treaty of friendship and alliance with Philip, as did the Peloponnesians, except for the Lacedaemonians who . . .'

3. This line is badly rubbed, and there may be no correction at the end of it; but what looks like a long horizontal line can be seen, which it is difficult to associate with any letters.

4 sq. This brief passage clearly treats of Philip's victory over the Scythians in the winter of 340–339: for a discussion of the campaign cf. the article of A. Momigliano, *Dalla spedizione scitica di Filippo alla spedizione scitica di Dario*, in *Athenaeum* (N.S.) xi. 1933, pp. 336 sq. The fullest account is to be found in Justin, IX, i. 9–iii. 3; but the only authority for the death of Ateas, the Scythian king, is Lucian (*Macrob.* 10), whose statement is now confirmed by the papyrus.

8. Wade Gery suggests that we might read in this line [Λυσιμαχιδης· ε]πι τουτου κτλ., Lysimachides being the Athenian archon for 339–338. It would make a very long line, with twenty letters, and it is unlikely that it projected into the margin since the columns are very close together (there is scarcely the space of two letters between col. ii and col. iii at the bottom of the roll). However, the]π comes immediately above the θ of Αθηναιοι in the following line, and, if the supplement in that line is correct, there might be room for Λυσιμαχιδης in l. 8. More serious objections are (a) that if the work is annalistic, arranged according to the years of the Athenian archons, the name of the archon for the next year, Chaerondas, should appear before the account of the battle of Chaeronea, i.e. before l. 27, whereas there is no such entry; (b) the work does not appear to be an Ἀτθίς devoted simply to Athenian annnals; the bias, if any, is in favour of Philip, and in col. iii the writer goes on to describe events in Persia; (c) if the work is an Ἀτθίς, the formula introducing the year's events is unusual; we should either expect the deme name to be given also, i.e. Λυσιμαχίδης Ἀχαρνεύς· ἐπὶ τούτου (as in Philochorus, Muller, *Frag. Graec. Hist.* i, p. 406) or else ἐπὶ Λυσιμαχιδοῦ ἄρχοντος.

On the whole this suggestion seems to me to be unlikely: but επι τουτου remains and can hardly refer to anything except to the period of office of some magistrate or to the reign of some monarch. But if we read presuming that Lysimachides' name has already been mentioned, [ωσαυτως ε]πι τουτου | [αρχοντος] we are faced with the difficulty that τούτου must refer to the archon of the previous year, Theophrastus, and no such military movements as those attributed to the Athenians in the following lines are known to have been made in this year; indeed, if Philip was engaged with the Scythians and the Triballi, it would hardly have been necessary to send a force to Thermopylae. (But the passage has other difficulties of its own: v. note to l. 13.) επι τουτου | [του πολεμου] even if the expression is legitimate and if there is room for the letters, is open to much the same objections. Wade Gery's suggestion does escape this historical dilemma; but in view of the objections to which it is open, I find it hard to accept it and prefer to leave the question undecided.

10. πανδημει may be regarded as suspect, (a) because an expedition on this scale is unlikely, (b) because the letters might be thought insufficient to fill the space; but it should be noted that they are all letters which occupy a considerable space.

11. I have filled up this line on the assumption that it and the following lines refer to the winter of 339–338, when Philip, invited to lead the Sacred War against Amphissa, first occupied Cytinium and then seized Elatea, with the result that the Athenians advanced to Eleusis, and later, in alliance with the Thebans, occupied the passes from Phocis to Boeotia and sent a force to protect Amphissa. This would bring the papyrus into accord with what we already know of the history of the war, and in particular would agree well with the mention

of Phocion in l. 15 who in this year (v. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*, s.v.) was sent with a fleet to secure the loyalty of the islands (cf. Dem. *de. Cor.* 234). The only difficulty in this view lies in the word πυλων in l. 13. It is very hard to believe that πυλαι can refer to any other place except Thermopylae: πύλαι could, of course, be used of other passes (the pass to which we expect it to refer here is that of Parapotamii), but hardly without a qualifying adjective. If πυλαι does = Thermopylae, then the reference is to a campaign of 340–399 of which we have no other mention; and Phocion's expedition would be the one undertaken for the relief of Byzantium (but mentioned out of place, after the Scythian war). This seems so improbable that I would prefer to regard πυλαι as denoting the passes from Phocis to Boeotia which, as we know, were held by Athenian and Theban troops.

14–15. [εις Αμφισσ]αν would be an attractive supplement were it not that Phocion's name is not connected with any land operations this year. [απεστειλ]αν is perhaps the most likely supplement: [εἰς Εὐβοι]αν is also possible, though the word order would be rather clumsy. A ν before Φωκιων (e.g. [ναυς ω]ν) is not very likely as traces of ink can be seen level with the bottom of the φ. Φωκ[εω]ν might be supplied, but is improbable in the context.

16.]. κοσιθ[is a possible, though less likely, reading. In the remaining twelve or thirteen lines of this column the writer probably dealt with the Athenian alliance with Thebes and the sending of the joint expedition under Proxenus and Chares, with ten thousand mercenaries, to defend Amphissa—perhaps, too, with the 'battle on the river' and the 'winter battle' claimed by Demosthenes as Athenian victories (*De Cor.* 216).

18 sq. It is remarkable that, while describing the defeat of Chares and Proxenus in the spring of 338 (for the ruse by which Philip defeated them see Polyaenus, iv. 2. 8), the writer does not mention the result of the victory and the object of the campaign, the capture and destruction of Amphissa; instead (l. 27) he goes on to describe the preliminaries of Chaeronea, without even indicating the effect that the capture of Amphissa had on the allies' position at Elatea.

παρελθων: i.e. the pass between Cytinium and Amphissa.

27. There was presumably a paragraphus mark below this line; nothing can be seen owing to a gap in the papyrus.

28. This makes a very long line (twenty-one letters): but there is just room for Αθηναιοι (to judge from the space necessary for απ[εκτειν]ὲν in l. 21), and the και projects into the margin.

45–9. A satisfactory reconstruction of these lines is difficult. The main difficulty is that in ll. 48–9 there appears to be a statement about the number of Thebans captured; while ll. 49–52 also refer to the number of Thebans captured. It might be thought that the first statement referred to the Sacred Band, and we might then read πε[ντε in l. 49, which would be an intelligible variation on the usual account according to which all the members of the Sacred Band fell on the field of battle; but it does not seem possible to fit the words in, as, whatever the letter is before των in l. 48, it cannot be ν. Again, the word or words between Αθηναιων in l. 45 and εληφθη in l. 46 are puzzling: it is rather long for a proper name (Demosthenes is in any case too short) and we should not expect details about individuals in this text. ελη̣φθη̣[σαν μεν] ζωντες τε[σσαρακοσιοι των Θη|βαιων πε[ντακοσιοι ἑλα]|βε κτλ. would be an easy enough restoration could it be made to fit with what follows.

49 sq. There seems to be no authoritative statement as to the number of Thebans captured at Chaeronea. Diodorus (xvi. 86. 6) merely says ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν Βοιωτῶν πολλοὶ μὲν ἀνηρέθησαν, οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐζωγρήθησαν. Nor is the apparently generous treatment of the Thebans implied in ll. 57–60 consonant either with the statement in Justin (ix. 4) that the Theban prisoners were sold as slaves nor with Philip's treatment of Thebes after the battle. Diodorus (xvi. 87, 3) relates that the Athenian prisoners were discharged ἄνευ λύτρων, but says nothing of the treatment of the Thebans.

53. Supplied, *sensus gratia*, by Adcock. Alternatively he suggests that χρηματιουμενος might be preferred, as πραξομενος would strictly be more correct than πραξων, and points out that, if so, it is even less pro-Philip in tone than χρηματα πραξων.

55. διδους alone is insufficient to fill the space.

διαδιδους (Adcock) is preferable to προσδιδους.

56. Possibly δραχμας followed by a numeral (not written in full) stood here.

58. The letter after των is not τ, so e.g. το πληθος or τους πλειστους cannot be read.

63. Cf. Diod. xvi. 87. 3 συνθέσθαι (*sc.* Philip) πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίαν τε καὶ συμμαχίαν.

65. For the conduct of the Spartans on this occasion cf. A. W. Pickard-Cambridge in *Cambridge Ancient History*, VI, ix, p. 266.

67. The letter after κι resembles most a φ or a δ, but a σ is possible.

71 sq. For Persian affairs at this time cf. Arrian, *Anab.* ii. 14. 2, Diod. xvii. 5. 3, Aelian *V.H.*, vi. 8. Artaxerxes Ochus was poisoned by the eunuch Bagoas in 337, who placed Arses, the murdered man's son, on the throne; Arses himself was murdered by Bagoas in the following year. (For the chronology of this period in Persian history see also P. Oxy. 12, esp. ii. 11 note: the papyrus places the accession of Darius, Arses' successor, in the same year as Chaeronea.)

διεδεξατο may have stood at the end of l. 71.

76. Here we might expect a statement as to the length of Artaxerxes' reign, e.g. ηρξεν (εβασιλευσεν) ετη . . ., but it is not possible to fit εικοσι δυο (the number of years usually assigned to Artaxerxes' reign) into the papyrus.

491. FRAGMENT ON THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

Acquired in 1920. 17 × 27 cm. Second century B.C.
PLATE 5.

The date, the authorship, and the contents of this fragment all present considerable difficulties. It consists of part of three columns (of the first only]. ῃς opposite l. 17,]ᾳρα opposite l. 18, and]δο opposite l. 24 survive) written along the fibres in a large, clear, but not calligraphic hand of the type commonly attributed (the good documentary hands of the period are not very different) to the second half of the second century B.C.; it may be compared with BKT. III, no. 9765, p. 30. The verso of the papyrus further supports the attribution of the text on the recto to the second century B.C. On it is written, in the reverse direction to the text on the recto, and in a hand of a type certainly common in the later second century (cf. e.g. P. Teb. 10, dated in 119 B.C.), a list of cleruchic holdings. The name of the cleruch and his father's name, sometimes followed by his age and Ἀρσινο(είτης) (possibly these were added in each case; the column is incomplete), is first given; in each case this is followed by a second line, considerably inset, with ὁ κλῆρος and another word (perhaps περιέχει; it can hardly be a proper name, as the initial letter is in each case π and in two περ is clear). The papyrus was one of a group, which included **457**, marked as coming 'from the Fayûm or Oxyrhynchus'; in this case Ἀρσινο(είτης) together with the name Στοτοῆτις, which is almost confined to the Fayûm, is sufficient evidence of its provenance. We know from the Tebtunis papyri (see Vol. I, pp. 553 sq.) that large numbers of native cleruchs were settled in the Fayûm by Euergetes II in the latter part of his reign after the end of the civil war. Among the names on the verso of **491** there is not one Greek one; this, taken with the palaeographical evidence, suggests that this list may relate to the settlement of Euergetes II. In that case the text on the recto is not likely to have been written later than 130 B.C.

The subject of columns ii and iii of the papyrus is negotiations between Rome and Carthage, carried on during time of war. The mention of Scipio in l. 20 excludes the first Punic War, and it is clear from ll. 18 sq. that the Roman army was not in Italy; indeed, it is almost a necessary inference from these lines that it was in Africa. The situation appears to be that an embassy has been sent from Carthage to Rome and that, as a result of this,

some prisoners or hostages are released (?), definite proposals for a treaty are made, and the Carthaginian embassy returns together with a Roman delegation in order that the necessary assurances may be given by both sides. The negotiations appear to have been on the point of being successful, when the bad reception of the terms at Carthage—the text at this point, ll. 22 sq., is very uncertain, but it is improbable that the subject of *απεστειλαν* in l. 39 was any one but the Carthaginians—put an end to them. The inference from the final lines of the papyrus is that this led to a renewal of hostilities. The only place-name that appears in the fragment is of no assistance; for *Σκιπιωνος πολις* (l. 20), unless *πόλις* be equated with *παρεμβολή* for which I can find no warrant, seems to be quite unknown to both Greek and Latin writers.

In the Second Punic War there are only two occasions to which the events described in this papyrus might be attributed; the negotiations carried on through Syphax in the winter of 204/3 do not come into consideration since Rome was not consulted. The first of these occasions was in the autumn of 203. Scipio had complied with the Carthaginian request for an armistice as a prelude to peace negotiations, and a Carthaginian embassy had gone to Rome; but on the arrival of Hannibal and Mago the Carthaginians broke the armistice by attacking and seizing a Roman convoy. Polybius' account of these negotiations is only preserved in part; there is a gap between his account of Scipio's capture of Tunis in xiv. 10 and his description of the attack on the Roman convoy in xv. 1. From here on the account in Polybius is fairly explicit. The Roman Senate had given its approval to the peace terms and Scipio was informed of their decision[1]; then followed the Carthaginian attack on the convoy, a protest from Scipio to Carthage and a treacherous attack on Scipio's delegation, dismissed without an answer by the Carthaginian assembly, as they were returning from Carthage. Meanwhile (xv. 4) the Roman and Carthaginian delegations at Rome were returning together and had reached Africa, when Baebius, since the armistice had been broken in the interval by the Carthaginians, imprisoned the Carthaginian ambassadors; they were later released and returned to Carthage by Scipio. In two respects this account differs from the story of the papyrus. In the first place, it is clear from Polybius that the Carthaginian ambassadors did not return independently, whereas in l. 22 it is said that they went straight to Carthage. More important, it seems to be a reasonable inference from the latter part of the papyrus that it was the reception of the terms in Carthage after the return of the ambassadors that led to the renewal of hostilities, not any incident during their absence, whereas, according to Polybius, there was no formal conclusion to the armistice such as the papyrus describes.

The other occasion to which these events might be referred is the despatch of Carthaginian plenipotentiaries to Rome after the defeat at Zama in 202, described in Livy, xxx. 38; Polybius' account of the peace settlement is not extant. The arrival of the Carthaginian plenipotentiaries and the Roman delegation is described in xxx. 40; by a decree of the senate two hundred Carthaginian prisoners were released and Roman *legati* to act with Scipio were sent from Rome (id. 43). So far this suits the text of the papyrus admirably; in particular it may be noted that *[αιχμα]λ̣ωσιαν* in l. 6 is almost certain. But neither Livy nor, it seems, any other authority, records that the return of the plenipotentiaries to

[1] Livy's version of these negotiations is different; but there seems to be little doubt that Polybius' account is to be preferred.

Carthage resulted in the renewal of hostilities, though there was certainly discontent (cf. Appian, viii. 55). That the text relates to the Third Punic War is made very unlikely both by the tone of the passage, which implies that the Senate at Rome was willing to grant a treaty to Carthage and that the terms had been discussed, and by the date of the papyrus.

Nor is it any easier to be certain about the authorship of the papyrus. On stylistic grounds alone a case might be made out for Polybius. For example, *ἐξαποστέλλειν* (l. 12) is a word, not common in other Hellenistic writers, of which Polybius is very fond; in Book III alone it occurs thirty times, whereas *ἀποστέλλειν* is found only four times and the simple verb never.[1] Other words and phrases which occur in this papyrus and which are characteristic of Polybius' style, are: *οἱ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης* = *οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι* (l. 18), *καθῆραν εἰς* (l. 19) (for these two instances, see F. Krebs, *Die Präpositionen bei Polybius*, pp. 46 and 106–7), *ὅρκια* = *foedus* (l. 16). On the other hand, *αἰχμαλωσία* (l. 6), if correct, is not quoted from Polybius, and *σύν* (l. 13), though found, is rare.[2] A fragment of the *Τὰ περὶ Ἀννίβαν* of Sosylus, who was the teacher and companion of Hannibal, has already been found on a Ptolemaic papyrus (U. Wilcken, *Hermes*, 41 (1906), pp. 103 sq.), describing a naval battle between the Carthaginians and the Romans and Massiliots in 217 B.C.; but there are no particular reasons for connecting his name with this papyrus, although that may be due to our almost total ignorance of his work. Supposing that **491** is a fragment from the lost part of Polybius' history, we should have to conclude that it dealt with the events after Zama, and that the rejection of the peace terms described in col. iii was a mere incident, immediately followed by a reversal of this decision, perhaps on the advice of Hannibal. Another interesting conclusion would follow, for, since Polybius is said to have lived into the eighth decade of the second century, **491** would, in all probability, be a contemporary manuscript—the first of any author of importance that has yet been found. In any case, the mere existence of a papyrus on this subject is (cf. also **501**) significant of the interest felt by educated Graeco-Egyptians in the already dominant power of Rome. It is, perhaps, worth recalling that it was in the reign of Euergetes II that Scipio Aemilianus, accompanied by Panaetius, visited Egypt and went up the Nile as far as Memphis.

There is no punctuation in the papyrus, but the end of sections is marked by a paragraphus below the line and a space at the end of the sentence. Line 31 is in all probability the last line of the column; at the top the surface of the papyrus has been completely abraded, so that the number of lines missing cannot be calculated.

Col. ii.

. . . . .
]δ̣εναι̣[. .]τ̣α̣δ[.]
[. . . πε]μψαμενοι τοις
[πρεσβ]ε̣νταις εδω
[καν το]υς ορκους και
[ελυσ]α̣ν ηδη την
[αιχμα]λ̣ωσιαν των
[. . . . .]ακηκοοτες
[ ]ν̣[. . . . . .]

[1] See O. Glaser, *De ratione quae intercedit inter sermonem Polybii et eum qui in titulis saeculi III, II, I apparet* (Giessen, 1894), pp. 33–4.

[2] Further, Mr. R. L. Beaumont has pointed out to me that *Φοίνικες* (l. 21) is not common in Polybius and is used only once (xiv. 1. 4) of the Carthaginians, as distinct from other Semites, and that Scipio Africanus is normally referred to as *Πόπλιος*, though *Σκιπίων* is found e. g. in xiv. 5. 3. Both exceptions occur in the book dealing with the close of the Second Punic War.

[. . . . ευ]πειθεστε̣
[ρ . . . . .] τ̣[ο]υς π̣αρ̣ο̣χ̣ε
[. . . . . .]τας περι των
[ορκιων] εξ̣απεστει
[λαν σ]υν τοις απο
[της Καρ]χ̣ηδονος και
[πα]ρ̣ αυτων τους αποι
σοντας τα ορκια και
ληψομενους παρ αυ
των οι μεν ουν απο
Ρωμης κατηραν εις
την του Σκιπ̀ι΄ωνος
πολιν [οι] δ̣ε Φοινι
κες ως ηκον εις την
Καρχηδο̣να και τα
διωικημε̣ν̣α̣ [π]ε̣ρ̣ι
της ειρηνης [. . . . .]

(5 lines lost)

[. .]ν̣[. . . .] . ωτακ . [. .]

Col. iii.

. . . . .
θ[
[
β̣ε̣[
των̣ [
ε̣ξ̣[
προς αυτο[υς απαι]
τουντε[ς τους ορ]
κους απεστειλαν
φεροντας αντ̣[ι της]
ειρηνης τον πο[λε]
μον τ̣ο̣υτ̣ο̣[υ μεν ου]
ν αγγελθεντ[ος]
αμφοτεροις [τοις]
στρα̣[τοπεδοις . . .]
μεν̣[
δυ[
χ[
. . . .

ll. 2–6: '. . . they administered the oaths to the ambassadors and released the prisoners forthwith . . .'

ll. 12–25: '. . . together with the Carthaginians they dispatched on their side men who were to swear to the treaty and receive the oaths of the Carthaginians. Now the Romans put in at Scipio's city. But when the Phoenicians reached Carthage and related what had been arranged about the peace . . .'

ll. 37–45: '. . . when the Romans came to them demanding the oaths, they sent them back bringing peace instead of war. When this news reached both the camps . . .'

2. *με]μψαμενοι* is possible, but less likely.

5. Alternatively, *αφηκαν* might be supplied, or possibly (see next note) *επαυσαν*.

6. There appears to be no other possible supplement here; the word is found in Diodorus Siculus and frequently in the Septuagint, meaning either *captivity* or *body of captives*. In the former case *επαυσαν* might be supplied and the subsequent genitive (e.g. *των ομηρων*) might be taken in connexion with it; but the latter meaning is certainly the more natural in this context. But if the sentence ends with *αιχμα]λωσιαν* it becomes difficult to fill the gap at the beginning of l. 7.

10. *π̣αρ̣ο̣λ̣ε* or even *π̣αρ̣ο̣δ̣ε* might be read, but is hardly more helpful; what is required is a participle in the sense of *negotiating*.

13. The supplement in this line is shorter by two letters than would be expected: cf. l. 43.

15. *αποφερειν τα ορκια* must mean *to deliver, render*, in contrast with the *ληψομενους* of the next line; I have found no example of this usage with *ὅρκια*.

20. No city of this name is known from Greek or Latin sources. It is easy to identify it with the *Castra Cornelia*, Scipio's camp between Carthage and the mouth of the Bagradas during the winter of 204/3, which became a permanent settlement and is referred to by Ptolemy (iv. 3, 2) and other later writers. But it is difficult to see why *Σκιπιωνος πολις* should have been substituted for *Κορνηλιου παρεμβολη*, by which the camp is known to Greek writers. To translate 'the city of Scipio', i.e. the city where Scipio was (in 203 he had moved his headquarters to Tunis), is grammatically impossible.

40. *φεροντας* here must refer to the Roman plenipotentiaries, who had first been to the Roman headquarters and then went on to Carthage.

492. HISTORICAL FRAGMENT.

Acquired in 1920. 13 × 30·5 cm. Fifth century.

In spite of considerable dimensions but little text has survived on this leaf from a papyrus codex; to the inner margin (*c.* 3 cm.) of the leaf itself, the inner margin of its companion leaf is still attached, but no traces of the text of the second leaf remain. The lower margin measures as much as 6·5 cm. in height, so that the height of the complete page must have been over 32 cm.; it is not possible to calculate how long the lines, and consequently how broad the pages, were. In format then, the book has some pretensions to sumptuousness; nor does the script belie this appearance. The letters, of the square, concise type, are closely packed, stiff and unornamental with drop strokes on the υ and the τ; they become considerably smaller at the ends of lines; the deep μ (of the capital type), the κ formed in two separate strokes, and the ϕ with a long exaggerated centre stroke deserve notice. It resembles the first hand of the Ascension of Isaiah (P. Amh. 1) and is of the same general type as the Codex Alexandrinus; it may, I think, be assigned to the fifth century. The ink is deep brown; there are no signs except the trema over upsilon. Punctuation may have been indicated by a short space (cf. l. 51).

It is a matter for regret that so little of the text remains, as it seems to have been a historical work dealing with the Persian Wars; on the recto there appears to have been an account of Marathon, on the verso the preliminaries to the campaign of 480–479. I have been unable to associate it with the work of any known author.

Recto.

βα̣τ̣[
πε[
θ̣ . [
μα̣ [
φρο̣[
μ[
π[. . .]ν μ̣ . [
μετα των [
σκει τοι κατ[
λεως ουδ̣ ωσ[
βελεσιν ουτ̣ε̣[
των ποτ̣ον [
ψαι τοις επαγο̣[
μεν πολεμιω[
εκατερωσε νε[
τη[.] . ρωντ̣ες ε̣[
χωρ̣ δε πολλη ε[
κτ̣[.] . ε̣ν̣πο̣ . μ[
φε̣ιν̣[. . . .]τεα δ̣[
ταδ̣[
ρ̣ . [
[
δια̣[
πρε̣[
δελ . [. . . . .]ωπ̣[
γελ[. . . . . .]αι̣τ[
τ[. . .]σ . [. . . .]ιλη̣[
κ . [.]μαιον ουδ α̣[
γη[μ]αντο των . [
ουδ α̣πεβλεψαν̣ [
βαρβαρου δωρα[εν Μα]
ραθωνι τροπαι[
νου πα[.] . τον υ[

Verso.

]. .
]ινα
]υ
]με
]τι
]αι

]τροπο̣ . . ω
]ασταση τ̣η
] θαλαττη̣
]ετο μεν τον
]λιθ̣ε τον Αθω
]ντον νηι τη(ν)
]λ̣ι[[ι]]`ο΄ν υπερ του
π]εζην εκομισ̣ε
] πανταχοθε̣ν ε(ν)
παρ]ασκευη την Ελ
[λαδα]ζομενος ετερα
]ο̣ι χο̣λ̣ . . [. . .]υ
]μενο[. . . .] μου
]ο̣[.] . [. . . .] . ησιν

] . ο
]νε
]ων
]σ̣α
]ατ[. . . . . .]ν το(ν)
]α̣ιθα[. . . . . .]πει
]κω[. . . . . .]ρω(ν)
]ι̣ανδ̣[.] . κατ̣[ασ]κ̣ευ̣
]λημψο̣μ̣ε̣[. . .] ομου
]και κηρυκα̣ς̣ ε
γ]ης και υδατος ες ο
]μ̣ακονος ε̣γ̣ν̣ωσαν
] . τελουντι̣ ω̣ς φι
[γης κ]αι υδατος με̣ταλαμ

33. ϋ P. 45. νηϊ P. η⁻ P: so in 48, 58, and 60. 46. ϋπερ P. 64. ϋδατος P, and in 67.

28. ε̣[ρ]μαιον would be a possible reading.

29. The writer may have been describing here how the Athenians refused to have any intercourse with some Greeks (? the Parians) who had helped the Persians in the campaign of Marathon.

32. For the trophy at Marathon cf. Pausanias, I. 32, 5 πεποίηται δὲ καὶ τρόπαιον λίθου λεύκου: for its symbolic importance at Athens cf. Arist. *Equit.* 1334, *Vesp.* 711 (with Rogers' note *ad loc.*). It might be referred to as τὸ Μαραθῶνι, τὸ ἐν Μαραθῶνι or τὸ ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι τρόπαιον.

44.]λιθε: the scribe certainly wrote θ originally, but what looks like a stroke across the top may indicate that he crossed it out—perhaps intending to write]λιπε.

Αθω: the later form of the earlier Ἄθων.

62 sqq. For the sending of the heralds to Greece by Xerxes when the army was at Sardes see Hdt. vii. 32: for their return, *ibid.* 131–2.

493. AESOP (?), FABLES.

Acquired in 1917. Frag. (a). 23·5 cm. × 13 cm. First century A.D. PLATE 7.

Although numerous fragments of the romantic *Vita Aesopi* have been recovered from Egypt, up till now, with the single exception of a school exercise (P. Grenf. II. 84: identified by W. A. Oldfather in *Aegyptus*, 10 (1929), p. 255), the Fables themselves have been unrepresented among the papyri.[1] As the transmission of the fables, as regards both form and substance, is a matter of much uncertainty, the evidence offered by this papyrus is welcome.[2] The gap between Demetrius of Phalerum, who, according to Diog. Laert. v. 80,

[1] Excluding the fragment of the Graeco-Latin *Hermeneumata Pseudo-Dositheana*, P.S.I. 848. Babrius, on the other hand, is represented by three papyri, P. Amh. 26, P. Oxy. 1249, and P. Stud. Pal. VI. 160: cf. also P. Oxy. 1404.

[2] See Schmidt-Stählin, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*, i, p. 676 sq., and for the MSS., p. 683, Hausrath in *RE.* VI, art. Fabel, and W. Port in Bursian, 1933, p. 72 sq. The most recent study is that by B. E. Perry, *Studies in the Text History of the Life and Fables of Aesop* (Haverford, Penn., 1936), which I was unable to see until after this introduction was written.

made a λόγων Αἰσωπείων συναγωγή, and our MSS. tradition is considerable; our earliest MS. is of the late tenth century, and, though the question is debated, it seems likely that the collection of fables ascribed to 'Aesop' in our MSS. is substantially the result of a Byzantine recension. Chambry (*Ésope, Fables*, Paris, 1927, p. xliv), on the contrary, is of the opinion that our collection is on the whole older than the collections made by rhetoricians and may be in substance the collection of Demetrius of Phalerum; for the substantial objections to this view see the review of Chambry's work by Hausrath, *Philologische Wochenschrift*, 47 (1927), 1537–46, 1569–75. In connexion with this papyrus it may be pointed out that the fable of the Owl and the Birds, partly preserved in the papyrus (ll. 103–31), is otherwise known to us only from the works of Dio Chrysostom (nos. 105, 106 in Halm's Teubner text of Aesop) and is consequently omitted by Chambry, who prints only the fables preserved in the codices of Aesop; we may suppose that the form in which the story appears in the papyrus is older than that given by Dio Chrysostom, and also that, if the edition of Demetrius of Phalerum was the standard edition it is sometimes thought to have been, it would probably have included this fable which in the papyrus appears together with fables found in our MSS. of Aesop. This, together with the fact that the version of the fables in the papyrus, which can with certainty be placed in the early imperial age, is completely different from that preserved in the codices of Aesop, makes Chambry's theory still less tenable.

Such is the difference between the version of the fables given in the papyrus and that of the MSS. recensions (different MSS. often preserve slightly varying forms of the same fable, but all probably derive from a common and not too remote source) that it is hard to posit any direct connexion between them, and for this reason this papyrus has been classed among the new classical texts. Those fables in the papyrus of which enough survives for the story to be identified, are all to be found—as far as the core of the story is concerned—in Halm's collection; a possible exception is that in ll. 133–52 (see note to l. 133), but the text is too fragmentary for us to arrive at a decision. This degree of similarity granted, the following differences between the papyrus text and that of the MSS. may be noted:

(*a*) The order in which the fables are written is different. The order given in the MSS. has long been suspect, based as it is on an alphabetical arrangement of the titles; unfortunately, not enough of the papyrus remains to enable us to determine the principle on which they were arranged here. Similarly, in the MSS. the fables of Babrius are arranged alphabetically, whereas in the second-century papyrus, P. Oxy. 1249, there is no trace of such an arrangement.

(*b*) The form of the fables is different. Instead of the title (e.g. ποιμὴν καὶ πρόβατα, Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Πλοῦτος) with which they are introduced in the MSS., in the papyrus each fable starts, as in Babrius, with a προμύθιον, a short sentence stating the moral, e.g. (ll. 75–76) προς τον πλουσιον ισα και πονη[ρον] οδε λογος εφαρμοζει. The last three words of this formula are invariably used; but once (l. 35) the moral is introduced with κατά, instead of with προς. It may be noticed that the initial letter of the προμύθιον always projects into the margin. This in part takes the place of the ἐπιμύθιον which commonly appears at the conclusion of each fable in the MSS., and is often introduced by ὁ μῦθος (or λόγος) δηλοῖ or some similar phrase. The

ἐπιμύθιον, however, is also represented by a feature peculiar to the papyrus version. In the two conclusions that survive (ll. 72 sq., 129 sq.), one of the parties in the fable points the moral and in each case the phrase used suggests that it was a conventional formula: την γνωμην φαινεται ειρηκεναι λεγων ουτως (slightly varied in l. 129: cf. also ll. 55–6); then follows the general application of the story.

(*c*) The vocabulary of the fables is different; e.g. an unusual word like ραβδιζω (l. 38) in the story of the Shepherd and the Sheep, is not found in any of the MSS. versions of the story. Other examples are pointed out in the notes.

(*d*) The whole form and syntax of the fables is different. In one case at least, it seems likely that a different twist was given to the end of the fable. How widely the versions vary may be seen from comparing the story of Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Πλοῦτος in the papyrus with the version of the MSS. (quoted from Halm and given in the note to l. 75).

That the papyrus version can in any way be regarded as the source of the existing MSS. is highly improbable, nor, if we assumed with Chambry that the text of the latter was substantially of late Hellenistic date, could we assume that the papyrus text derived from that; both are probably parallel developments from a common source; for it is clear on linguistic and other grounds that the papyrus does not give us the text of the old *Volksbuch* which, no doubt in several forms, was probably in general circulation before Demetrius of Phalerum made his recension. The papyrus version might be regarded as that of Demetrius of Phalerum, a distinction to which it has more claim than the MSS. version; but there is nothing to prove it. The προμύθια and the concluding moral placed in the mouth of one of the characters may suggest that this recension was made for the use of rhetoricians.[1]

There are three fragments, of which (a) and (b) each contain part of three columns, (c) part of two columns; I have been unable to establish any connexion between the three. Altogether fourteen fables are represented, most of them very scantily. The papyrus is in a very fragile condition, badly frayed at the edges and with the fibres disordered. The text is written in a handsome hand, upright and angular; it bears a general resemblance to the Berlin *Ninus Romance* (Schubart, *Pap. Graec. Berol.* 18), though less rounded and elegant. Some of its features recall those of documents of the Augustan period (cf. e.g., Schubart, *op. cit.* 14), and it may be assigned to the first half of the first century A.D. The column consisted of 29 lines (see note to l. 103); the lower margin is 4·5 cm. in depth. Each fable begins on a new line and the initial line projects into the margin. There is only one instance of punctuation (l. 134); corrections and additions have been made by the first hand. Nothing suggests that the text was used in school. The verso is blank.

For collation the texts of Halm (Teubner) and Chambry (*Aesopi Fabulae*, recensuit A. Chambry, Paris, 1925) have been used.

Fragment (a).

Col. i.

. . . . . .

[*c.* 21]νω[.]

[*c.* 19] . [.] . κω

[1] But see Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 172, note 58

[*c.* 17]ας αυ γ̣ν̣ο
[*c.* 12]κ̣[. . . . .] . [. . . .]
[*c.* 10 π]ο̣νηρο̣[.]σ̣α̣σι̣[.] . . [.]
[*c.* 12]ε̣[.]δ̣ο̣μ̣εν [. . . .]σ̣
[*c.* 10 οδε λ]ο̣γος εφα̣ρμ̣ο̣ζ̣ε̣[ι]
[*c.* 15]ε̣νος [. . . . .]
[*c.* 16]θ̣ε̣[. . . . .]
[*c.* 24]
[*c.* 22] . σ̣
[*c.* 16]ο̣υκ α̣ν εφη
[*c.* 15]π̣ην[.]οθ̣ε̣σ̣
[*c.* 16]ων . [. . . . .]ο̣
[*c.* 16]π̣ . [. . . . .]
. . . . . .

Col. ii.

. . . . . .
φερ̣[. .] . . [*c.* 17]
πολεμωι . . [*c.* 15]
νευσετε [*c.* 17]
προς το[ν] ισχυ̣[ρον] τ̣ον και̣ [α]λ̣λ̣ο̣υ̣ς
. . κα . τ̣α̣[.]χ̣[.]ε̣θ̣η̣τ̣α̣ [. . .] . λ̣ε̣ .
νον οδε λογος ε̣φ̣[α]ρ̣μοζ̣ει̣ [ι]π̣π̣ος
και υς λειμωνος εκοινω̣ν̣[ο]υν
ο δε υ̣ς ελυ̣μαινε[τ]ο̣ τ̣[. . . . .]α̣ς και
τα ποη του ιππο̣[υ .] . [. . .] . η̣σ̣ε̣ν̣
[. . .]ρ[.]γγων κ̣[*c.* 13]ω
πολλ̣ακις δε του [ι]π̣πο[υ . . . . .] .
ν̣ . . [. .]τ̣[*c.* 16]ε̣θ̣
δ̣[. . . .]ε̣τ̣ο̣[*c.* 16]
[. . . . ι]π̣π̣[. *c.* 17]
. . . . . .

Col. iii.

. . . . . .
[*c.* 15]χ̣α̣[. . . . .]
[. . . . .]ο̣ς ν̣[. . . . .]η̣τ̣ο̣υ̣ [. . . . .]
[. . . . . λ]ο̣γος [. . . .]υ̣ . λο̣υ̣[. . . . .]
[.]μ̣ιας επ̣ι̣ τουτο [ο]υ̣δ̣ετ̣ερ̣οις του̣
. . ρ̣οησε . [. . . . .] . [. .]
[κ]α̣[τα] τ̣ω̣ν [τους με]ν̣ α̣[λ]λους ευ̣ ποι
ο̣υ̣ντων τους δε φιλους κακως
οδε λογος εφαρμοζει ποιμη̣ν̣ θ̣ει̣ς

το ιματιον αναβας επι δρὺν́ ερα
βδιζεν των βαλανων τοὶς προ
βατοις τ[α] δε προβατα̣ των τε βα
λανων και το ιματιον αυτου εμα
χησαντο και διεφθειραν κατα
βας δε και ιδων τ̣ο̣ συμβεβηκος
[ειπεν] ω κακ̣[ιστα] π̣ρ̣[ο]β̣[α]τ̣α̣ [. . .] .
[α]λ̣λοις τ̣α̣ ερι̣[α . . .] . [. . .]δ̣[. . . .]
[. . . . .].ι̣τ̣[c. 15]
. . . . . .

Fragment (b).

Col. iv.

. . . . . .
[c. 16]α̣ π̣λ̣ησ̣[ιο]ν̣
[c. 10 με]γαλοις ουδεις
[c. 13]ο̣ μετρον αταρ
[c. 23]τ̣
[c. 23]σ̣
[c. 21] . τ̣ο
[c. 16]ικετο τ̣ου
[c. 15]ωι παραπλη
[σι . . . . . την γνωμην] φαινεται
[c. 9 ειρηκε]ν̣α̣[ι] λεγων
[c. 16]ρεσης γε
[c. 20]τ̣[.]υν
[ ]
[c. 18 π]ραξεις
[c. 20]σ̣ε .
[c. 21]εα
[c. 19]ν παρα
[c. 22]ε̣
[c. 21] . ν
[c. 20] . δ̣[. .]ν̣α
[c. 16]α̣σ̣ο̣ [. . . .]α
[c. 14]τιας . [. . .]π̣ισ
[c. 22]σ .
. . . . . .

Col. v.

. . . . . .
φεσσ̣[. . . . .]π̣[.] . [c. 12]
νυν των σ̣[. .]ι̣[.]ν̣[.] . [c. 10]

την γνωμην φαινεται ει̣ . [. . . .]
ειρηκεναι λεγων ουτως [αμαρ]
τανων εκ̣α̣σ̣[τ]ος αιτιατ̣α̣[ι θεους]
προς τον πλουσ̣ιον ισ̣α̣ και πονη̣[ρον]
οδε λογος εφαρμοζει ο̣ Ζ̣ευς τ̣[ον]
Ηρακλη [ω]ς̣ εις *θεους α̣ . ε̣δ[. . .]*
τια και τ̣[ου]ς αλλους θεους εκαλε
σεν επ[ι] τ̣ο δειπνον επ̣ιο̣ν̣[τα δε]
εκαστον των θεω̣ν̣ υ[π]ερβολ[η]
ησπαζετο ο Η̣ρ̣α̣[κλ]η̣ς̣ [τ]ο̣υ̣ [δε Πλου]
του εσχατου προσ̣[ιοντ]ο̣ς̣ [αφνω κυ]
ψας κατωι ο Ηρακλη̣ς̣ ο̣υ̣ π̣ρ̣[οση]
γορευσεν αυτο̣ν̣ τ̣ου Διος θαυμα
σαντος και ερω̣τ̣η̣σαντος τον
Ηρακλη δια τι του̣[το ε]ποιησε̣ν̣ α̣
πεκρεινατο̣ ⟨ο⟩τ̣ι ω̣ π̣ατερ εγω̣γ̣ε̣
τουτο̣ν̣ επισταμαι αει μ̣ε̣τ̣α̣ τ̣ω̣ν̣
πονηροτατων ανθρωπω̣[ν δ]ι
α̣τ̣ρ̣ε̣ι̣βοντα και μετα τουτω̣[ν συ]ν
βουλομενον αταρ ο Π̣[λουτος ειπε]
ανθρωπε πονη[ροτατε . . . . . .]
αν ο Πλουτος παρα[. .] . ν̣[. . . . . .]
νυν̣ τωι λογωι πα . [. . .]η̣[. . . . . .]
τ[.]ν π̣ . [. . . . .]φ . μ̣ε̣τ̣α̣[. . . . . .]
[*c.* 13]λ̣ογ̣[. . . . . .]
. . . . . .

Col. vi.

. . . . . .
δ̣[*c.* 23]
[*c.* 24]
[*c.* 24]
[*c.* 24]
γ̣ε̣ν̣ο̣[*c.* 20]
ασπ̣ιδ̣[*c.* 19]
. . . . . .

Fragment (c).

Col. vii.

[*c.* 22]λ̣ .
[*c.* 9]ψε̣[*c.* 11]ελ̣
[*c.* 8]ρει̣[*c.* 12] .
[. . . .]εσει γ[.]λ̣η[*c.* 9]α̣ ιξο

[. . . . . δ]ρυν αναφ[υ . . . . . .]ηȿ
[. . . . τοι]ȿ ορνεοις ε . . [. . . .]ιλυ
[. . . . . .] αναφυεισαν μεν̣ εσεσ
[θαι κακ]ον τωι γενει των ορν̣[ε]ων
[την βουλη]ν δ αυτων̣ ολιγ . [. . . .]η̣
[η δρυȿ] ηυξηθη λαβων̣ δ[ε τι]ȿ αν
[ηρ . . . . .] . απο της δρυος τον̣ ιξον
[εθηρασ]εν τα δε ορνεα ορωντα
[μετενοουν] και εφησα̣[ν] δει̣νην
[ειναι την] γλαυκα το μελλον προ
[μαντε]νε̣[σ]θα̣ι και νυν οταν ιδω
[σι την γ]λαυκα περιπετον η̣ι̣ και̣ α
[πο των αλλ]ω̣ν̣ α̣πεχει συμ[βουλ]ευ
[ειν λισ]σ[ονται] η δε λεγει̣ [[π]]ω πονη
[ρα . αισχ]υ̣[ν]εσθε νυν και̣ μιμνη
[σκεσθ]ε̣ οτ[ι] ο̣υδε λ̣ι̣ . [. .]η̣ ε̣τ̣ι̣ π̣λει
[. . . . . .]ην οτε δ ην [.]οθλ̣[.] . α[.]
[. ωραν ου]κ εσχετε της ε̣[μης συμ]
[βουλης] αταρ ουν και υ̣π̣[. . . . . .]
[. . . . . .] . εντες εμου νυ̣ν̣ [. . . .]κ̣
[. . . . . .]ο̣τε ουδε . [. . . . . .]
[. . . . .] του[τ]ω̣ι̣ τοινυν τωι λ[ογ]ωι
[επληγ]ησαν και την γνωμην
[λεγον]ται α[.]θ̣ων ειρηκεναι α̣[.]ω̣ν
[. . . . .] . ωȿ ουδεν οφελος υστερον

Col. viii.

. . . . . .

π[ροȿ το]ν̣ [c. 18]
[.]νον ληψ[c. 17]
δ̣ε̣σ̣ει· α . σ̣[c. 17]
η̣λ̣[. .]εν και̣ . [c. 14]
τε . [.]ω̣ι̣ τωι̣[c. 14 ε]
πειτα τα α[c. 16]
σφυρα και . [c. 15]
η εδιδοσ[c. 17]
ειπεν [c. 19]
εγω με[ν c. 19]
λαμβανω [c. 17]
ουν κα[. .]υ̣[c. 16]
[.] του̣τ̣ο̣υ̣ μ[c. 16]
που υπο̣[c. 18]
[.]ου̣ . [c. 20]

	π̣[.] . σ̣ε̣[	*c.* 20	]
	[. .]τα γι[	*c.* 18	]
	τ̣ε̣ [. . .]ν. η̣[	*c.* 16	]
150	πε̣ . ε̣ . [	*c.* 19	]
	α[.]μ̣[.] ουν υ̣[	*c.* 16	]
	π̣ . . [		]
	προ̣ς τ̣ο̣ν μ[	*c.* 13	οδε λο]
	γος εφαρμ[οζει	*c.* 10	αν]
155	θρωποι ν[	*c.* 18	]
	ο Ερμης α̣ν̣[.]τ̣[	*c.* 14	]
	δε̣ν εταξαν [	*c.* 15	]

6. As the formula in the next line shows, a new fable began either here or in l. 5; if in the latter, [*προς τους π*]*ονηρο*[*υ*]*ς* might be read.

16. This line is level with l. 6 in col. i.

19. This fable, of the wild boar and the horse, who called in man to assist him against his enemy (or *How the Horse got his Bridle*), is no. 329 in Chambry where it has the title *Σῦς* ⟨*ἄγριος*⟩ *καὶ ἵππος καὶ κυνηγέτης*. In this form it is extant only in Codex Parisinus 690, and does not appear in Halm. The same fable appears in a fuller form as Chambry, 144 *Ἵππος καὶ σῦς ἄγριος* from Codex Bodleianus (also omitted in Halm). What is, however, in substance the same story, with a stag taking the place of the wild boar, was included by Halm in his collection (no. 175) from Aristotle, *Rhet.* ii. 20; here it is said to have been told by Stesichorus to the men of Himera, when they chose Phalaris as their ruler. Fragmentary as the story is in the papyrus, it may be noted that in vocabulary this version differs from all the others; neither *κοινωνέω*, *λυμαίνομαι* nor *πολλάκις* occur in the extant versions.

The moral attached to this fable (as always in the papyrus, placed before the story; in all our MSS. of Aesop, the moral, commonly introduced by *ὁ μῦθος δηλοῖ* or *ὅτι*, follows the story) is different from that in the versions mentioned above. That attached to Chambry, 144 runs: *ὅτι θυμὸς οἶδεν δουλῶσαι καὶ ταπεινῶσαι ἄνδρα γενναῖον καὶ πρὸς ἄμυναν* [*γενέσθαι*] *τοῦ ἀδικηκότος* ⟨*ὡρμημένον*⟩—which is not particularly suited to this fable; that at the end of Chambry, 329 runs, more suitably: *οὕτω πολλοὶ δι' ἀλόγιστον ὀργήν, ἕως τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀμύνασθαι θέλουσιν, ἑαυτοὺς ἑτέροις ὑπορρίπτουσιν*. The present moral may be assumed to be directed against the strong man, who lets himself be controlled by others.

24. *ποη*: the traces suit an *η* better than any other letter, and *τα*⟨*ς*⟩ *ποας* cannot be read, even if the plural were admissible. The form can only be set down as an error on the part of the scribe, perhaps due to a confusion with *πῶν*.

For the sense cf. Chambry, 329 *τοῦ δὲ συὸς παρ' ἕκαστα τὴν πόαν διαφθείροντος*.

34. The traces would suit best the reading *ε̣θ̣ρ̣οησε*, although neither *η̣λ̣οησε* or even *. μ̣οησε* can be quite excluded; but as there is no genitive in agreement with the *του* of the proceeding line, it seems likely that the text is corrupt.

The end of the line has been left blank, as each fable began on a fresh line.

35. The moral of the following fable appears in the MSS. versions (Halm, 378: Chambry, 317) as: *οὕτως καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πολλοί, δι' ἄγνοιαν τοὺς μηδὲν προσήκοντας εὐεργετοῦντες, κατὰ τῶν οἰκείων φαῦλα ἐργάζονται*. The other two versions given by Chambry differ only slightly in the arrangement of the words and in the syntax, whereas the text in the papyrus clearly belongs to a different tradition.

38. The asyndeton is harsh, even for this type of literature; perhaps we should insert ⟨*και*⟩ before *αναβας*.

ῥαβδίζω, in this sense, is not a common word: it does not occur in any of the extant versions of this fable.

40. The text in this and the following lines is corrupt to an unusual degree for a literary text of this quality. We may suppose that the original text ran approximately as follows: *τὰ δὲ πρόβατα περί τε τῶν βαλάνων ἐμαχήσατο καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον αὐτοῦ διέφθειρεν*. That the sheep first fought over the acorns is a touch not found in the other versions.

47. This line is level with l. 73 in col. v.

48–9. Possibly a moral; but, if so, and at the beginning of the story, the latter must have been short as with l. 60 a new fable begins.

59. The end of this line has been left blank as with l. 60 a new fable begins.

60. *πρᾶξις*, in contrast with *πράγματα*, does not occur often in Aesop. It is found, in the dative, in the moral to Chambry, 88, the fable of the man with the drunken wife. Other supplements are possible here.

73–74. In the MSS. of Aesop three fables (Chambry, 99, 132, and 262) have the moral which is here placed in the mouth of one of the characters in the story, attached to them as an *ἐπιμύθιον* and differently worded; of these, either 132 or 262 would suit this context and there is nothing definite to show whether *Ἥρως* (as in 132) or *Τύχη* (as in 262) is the speaker. In favour of the former is the fact that in the MSS. the story of Heracles and Plutus immediately precedes that of the Demigod, and would, in the papyrus, immediately follow it; they may well have been close to one another in some earlier collection. Again, on the analogy of both stories, the strong aorist participle of *ἐφίστημι* might be restored in l. 72; and *επιστας*, agreeing with *Ἥρως*, would suit the space better than *επιστασα*, agreeing with *Τύχη*. Of the *π* in this word nothing more survives than a few dots sufficient to indicate an upright stroke.

75 sq. For purposes of comparison, the fable of Heracles and Plutus as it appears in the MSS. is given (Halm, 160: Chambry, 131): *Ἡρακλῆς ἰσοθεωθεὶς καὶ παρὰ Διὶ ἑστιώμενος ἕνα ἕκαστον τῶν θεῶν μετὰ πολλῆς φιλοφροσύνης ἠσπάζετο. Καὶ δὴ τελευταίου εἰσιόντος τοῦ Πλούτου, κατὰ τοῦ ἐδάφους κύψας ἀπεστρέψατο αὐτόν. Ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς θαυμάσας τὸ γεγονός, ἐπυνθάνετο αὐτοῦ τὴν αἰτίαν, δι' ἣν πάντας ἀσμένως προσαγορεύσας μόνον τὸν Πλοῦτον ὑποβλέπεται. Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· "ἀλλ' ἔγω γε διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸν ὑποβλέπομαι, ὅτι παρ' ὃν καιρὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἦμην, ἑώρων αὐτὸν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τοῖς πονηροῖς συνόντα." Ὁ λόγος λεχθείη ἂν ἐπ' ἀνδρὸς πλουσίου μὲν τὴν τύχην, πονηροῦ δὲ τὸν τρόπον.*

75. This use of *ισα και* as little more than a strengthened form of *καί* appears to be without warrant; but no other reading seems plausible. The *και* is certain, and the only alternative to *ισ* would be *η* or (less likely) *κα*, which would suggest a confusion between *κακός* and *καί*: the straight vertical stroke excludes alike *ος* and *τον*, even if the other traces suited these letters.

77. We should expect one, if not two, verbs at the end of the line; but [*εισ*][*τια* (which seems the only possible verb ending in *-τιάω*) is not really suitable, unless it was preceded by e.g. *ανεδ*[*εξατο*; this is too long for a normal line, but some letters may have been omitted.

79. *επ̣ιο̣ν*[*τα*: *εισιοντα* would give a better sense, but would be a very difficult reading.

83. l. *κάτω*.

87. l. *ἀπεκρίνατο*.

91. In the ordinary version of this story, Plutus makes no reply to the remarks of Heracles and the fable ends with the latter's explanation of his behaviour. Here it looks as if Plutus pointed out that the fault lay not with him, but with those who misused his gifts.

97. This line is level with l. 85 in col. v.

103. This fable, of how the owl gave the other birds good advice which they neglected, and later refused to advise them any more, does not appear in the MSS. of Aesop (and consequently is not in Chambry's collection), but is used in two different forms by Dio Chrysostom (Halm, 105 and 106) and attributed to 'Aesop'. The version in the papyrus appears to be the same in substance as that given by Dio Chrysostom, lxxii. 14 sq. (Halm, 106), though differing widely in phrasing. In the story the owl declines the invitation of the other birds to settle on the oak and warns them that from the oak will come the deadly mistletoe (*ἰξός*).

It seems probable that this line is the first of the column. Above the λ is a small, blank piece of papyrus, although of course the line above may have been a short one. But it is clear that at the end of this column the fable is near its conclusion, and with the first line of col. viii a new fable begins. If we allow a gap of two lines at the top of col. viii—it can hardly be more—then l. 103 is the first of col. vii.

107. Perhaps *αναφ*[*υεισαν . .*] *ησ*[*θετο κτλ*.

108. Perhaps *κα*]*ι λυ*[*πην*.

111. Though *ολιγω*[could easily be read, it is difficult to see what part of *ὀλιγωρέω* could have stood here, as the *η* at the end of the line is very probable and *ολιγω*[*ρησα*]*ν*][*των* is certainly impossible, nor is there space for *ολιγω*[*ρουντων*] *η*. Possibly some letters were omitted and written above the line.

The supplement at the beginning of the line is a little long, but [*υστερο*]*ν* would be on the short side.

118. *περιπετον*, from an otherwise unvouched for present form *περιπέτειν*—unless we assume that the text is corrupt and read *περιπετο⟨μενη⟩ν*. *ηι*, i.e. *ῆι*, cf. *κατωι* in l. 83.

120. It is a little doubtful whether there is room for *λισ]σ[ονται]*; the fibre on which the *σ* survives is so loose that its exact position cannot be determined. Near the end of the line the *ω* has been partly written over the erased *π*.

122. Instead of *λι̣γ, γ̣η* might be read.

130. *[λεγον]ται* is preferable to *φαινονται* which we might expect here in view of l. 72, as it suits the space better: there is just room for *λέγονται*, while *φαίνονται* would definitely make too long a line. Is a misplaced *ἀνθ' ὧν* to be recognized in *α[ν]θων*? *οὕτως* would be expected.

132. Probably two lines are missing at the head of this column which contained the concluding moral of the fable of the Owl and the Birds.

133. In the scanty fragments that survive there appears to be no clue to the identity of this fable. *σφυρα* (l. 138) should be of assistance; but a *χαλκεύς* figures only in one fable (Halm, 413: Chambry, 346) and, *σφῦρα* apart (the word does occur in the third version of this story given by Chambry), there is no reason to connect it with this text.

134. The point in this line is the only example of punctuation in the papyrus. In the space above the letter between the *α* and the *σ* is what looks like a smooth breathing ', but it may be part of an inserted letter.

153. From the little that survives it seems doubtful whether this fable is to be identified with any of these in which the name of Hermes appears in the title. More probably it represents a different version of *Ζεὺς κριτής* (Halm, 152: Chambry, 127), in which Hermes figures as the assistant of Zeus in assessing the iniquities of mankind.

494–500. MISCELLANEOUS FRAGMENTS (VERSE).

The following seven small fragments, all unidentified and all verse, may be conveniently grouped together. All were acquired in 1917, and, with the exception of **498**, to which no provenance was assigned, and the two cartonnage fragments, **496** and **499**, were all stated to come from Oxyrhynchus.

The first is a fragment from the top of a column, written along the fibres in a broad, regular book-hand with a slight slope to the right. The verso is blank. The verses are hexameters and the subject may be the return of Persephone (cf. *καθοδ[* in l. 3) to the upper world.

495 very probably belongs to a tragedy. It is written in a large and rounded hand, with a slight backward slope. Accents, &c., are in a second hand; the correction in l. 2 is by the first hand. The verso is blank.

496 consists of two fragments from the same piece of cartonnage which included **458**, the Deuteronomy papyrus, and **499** below. The hand is similar to that of the Homer papyrus, **539**, of the same origin, and may be assigned to the later second century B.C. The use of *ἄφθιτος* in l. 5 suggests that it may be part of a tragedy.

497 is written along the fibres in a heavy, square hand of the first century; *μ* is deep and broad, and *α* angular with a horizontal cross-stroke. Apparently it contains, in part at least, iambic verses; Lobel suggests that it may have been an anthology. If so, the shorter lines may have been subject headings. There are no accents or punctuation; the verso is blank.

498, small as it is, is of some interest since it is an early example of the use of the papyrus codex for non-Christian literature. It is written in a neat and remarkably small hand (the height of an average letter is 2 mm.), clearly influenced by cursive scripts and with occasional ligatures; it is probably to be dated in the early third century. This hand bears a very close resemblance to that of P. Lit. Lond. 53, a third-century codex of Semonides of Amorgos (?), *Iambi*, also written in a very small and semi-cursive hand. Very probably the codex was in proportion to the writing, and was one of those pocket editions of the classics mentioned by Martial as suitable presents at the Saturnalia (see Kenyon, *Books and Readers in Greece and Rome*, pp. 92 sq.). The ink is a dark black, fading to grey where the scribe has mixed too much water with it; accents and breathings (and probably punctuation also) are by a second hand. Of the contents there is little to be said, except that they were clearly in iambic verse, and were part of a comedy (most probably New Comedy), not tragedy.

499 is the largest of the unidentified literary scraps recovered from mummy cartonnage together with **458**. Part of two columns, written in a free, slightly sloping, second-century hand, survive; which appear (or col. i at any rate) to be in elegiac verse; below this are traces of four more lines which reach at least across the inter-columnar space, and are not certainly metrical. Fragment (b) is a small piece of the upper layer of the papyrus and probably belongs to col. ii. On the verso are traces of demotic writing.

500 is written along the fibres in rather a large sloping hand, for which cf. P. Oxy. 1787, 1788. Line 1—perhaps a title, or a line omitted and afterwards added in the margin—is by the same hand, but smaller. Both the presence of accents and perhaps l. 1 suggest that the contents were verse rather than prose. The verso is blank.

494.

5 × 4·4 cm.

Later second century.
PLATE 7.

]η προθυροις γϵ[
Δ]ημητρα και ϵσσ[
]η κραδιη καθοδ[
] . γ[.]νησιν̣ [.] . [
. . . .

495.

2·9 × 5·8 cm.

Early second century.
PLATE 5.

. . . .
] . [
] . τῆς αχ[[α]]ι̣[
]ϵπι πρῦ́μ̣[
]έναι τ[
]ν και πο[
]φ̣ϵμϵν [

2. Perhaps Αχι[λλ].

496.

Frag. (a) 2·6 × 5·6 cm.

Later second century B.C.

Frag. (a).

. . .
]ησισα . [
]ν[
]α . ηλ[ι]ον[
]νερμιστη[
]ν αφθιτο[
]κηνω . [
]θουσαι[
]εργα[
. . .

Frag. (b).

. . .
] . βροτ[
] . εσ[
. . .

497.

5·6 × 10·6 cm.

First century.

. . .
αμ . [
ουτ[
μηνε[
η μηδ[
μελο . [
. [

ευροις α[
ε . [
δρυς ταιν[
κινειν π[
ου γαρ . [
ιατρος [
βλεπουσι γαρ τ[

9. Instead of δ, β might be read; no other letter seems likely. *βρύσται* is glossed by Hesychius as *κρημνοί. καὶ πόλις κρημνώδης.*

12. There is no trace of ink after *ιατρος*, which may have been a title; if so, the preceding line is perhaps best explained as a pentameter to which l. 10 would be attached as the hexameter.

498.

2 × 3·2 cm.

Third century. PLATE 5.

Recto.

. . .
]νόης
]ηναι· τοδ' ε[.]
] . εἶν ετει·
]αθ' ἡ γυνη
] . ενι :
]θι[
. . .

Verso.

. . .
πεμπε . [
. θη . ενο[
τοπος δέ [
καλουμένη[
Απολλον· ε[
[. . . .]αγμα[
. . .

3. The last letters of this line are smudged and there may have been a correction; possibly ἐπεί should be read.

5. Above the second letter of this line is an accent or apostrophe, which has either been smudged or, more probably, crossed out.

10. The κ does not come directly below the τ of τοπος, and it is possible that another letter preceded it; but the fact that the κ is larger than other letters, with a long flourish reaching below the line, makes this unlikely.

11. This ejaculation, hardly possible in tragedy, is not infrequent in New Comedy: cf. the indices in Jensen's *Menandri Reliquiae* and Meineke's *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*.

499

7·8 × 9 cm. Later second century B.C.

Frag. (a).

Col. i.

. . .
]χ̣[
]ε̣φ̣ιζ̣[
]ρ̣[.] . . κ̣ε̣ν̣ . [
] αμβροσιαισιν
] . ν̣στρεφεται
ο]υ̣νομ εχουσα
]ιλ̣ων
]εται Ελλας
] . . σοφιαι
] . ι̣σ̣θ̣α̣
]ονον . .
] . ολεμαι και αυξο[
]ουπτομε̣[
]ς̣ επ̣[ι] πτολ̣[
]υ̣ . [
. . .

Col. ii.

[. . .]ερ . [
ε̣ξ̣ . [. .]χ[
ε . . . [.]φ̣[
[
δ̣ . . ετ . [
. . .

Frag. (b).

. . .
]νκανενι̣ζ̣ο[
. . .

12. The mark before the ο may be merely a linking stroke; if it is part of a letter, σ might be read: π cannot.

500.

2·1 × 6 cm. Third century.

]λωδία̣[

]και λισ̣[
] . συ· ψι[
]τ̣οι πολ̣[
]κ̣αν κατ̣[
] . ρησεις [
] [.̈] δέμ[

1. Perhaps αυ]λωδια (Lobel).
7. Nothing remains of the letter below the diaeresis.

501–521. MISCELLANEOUS FRAGMENTS (PROSE).

This group includes all the small and unidentified fragments which are not obviously verse. Of these, **515** and **516** were in the same folder as **487** and so belong to the original purchase by Hunt; **509**, **510**, and **511** were acquired in 1920, the rest in 1917.

The first three were recovered from the same pieces of cartonnage which produced **458**, **496**, **499**, and **539**. They are written in different but similar hands, probably of the later second century B.C.; that of **502** is heavier than the others and has a slight slope to the right. The mention of Rome in **501**—of some interest in a papyrus of this date—indicates that the text was historical and might suggest Polybius as the author; but I have been unable to identify this fragment with any passage in the extant works; fragment (a) appears to be in *oratio recta*. Short spaces have been left in ll. 9 and 10, presumably to indicate the end of a sentence; between ll. 3 and 4 and again in l. 12 is a considerable gap, perhaps to mark the end of a section. Not enough survives of either **502** or **503** to give any clue to the contents.

504 is a narrative fragment, the vocabulary of which is so reminiscent of Thucydides, vi. 46 (the passage describing the trick played by the Segestaeans on the Athenian ambassadors in 416 B.C.), as to allow the conjecture that the same incident is the subject of **504**. The relevant passage of Thucydides is quoted in the note. The same incident was also described by Diodorus, xii. 83, and Polyaenus, *Strat.* vi. 21, both of whom derive their account from Thucydides. The similarity between the vocabulary of this fragment and that of the passage in Thucydides may be no more than a coincidence; but it is possible that we have a scrap from some history of Sicily, perhaps from the Περὶ Σικελίας of Philistus, to whom both P. Oxy. 665 and the Florence papyrus published by G. Coppola have been ascribed.[1] The hand is a very handsome uncial of the square, upright type (cf. Schubart, *Pal.*, Abb. 93); *ν* at the end of a line is represented by a line drawn over the preceding vowel; accents—rare in a prose text—are to be noted in ll. 8 and 12. If the reconstruction suggested in the note to l. 9 is correct, the number of letters to a line was between 12 and 15. The verso is blank.

505 is a fragment from the bottom of a page of a papyrus codex, written in a heavy, square hand not unlike that of P. Amh. 1. The ink is of the usual brown variety. A small ink mark in the left margin of the recto perhaps indicates that this is an inner, not an outer margin, i.e. that recto precedes verso. The lower margin measures 3·7 cm. The work to which it belongs was a metrical treatise; the surviving fragment seems to deal with the pyrrhic.

506 is written along the fibres in a slanting and somewhat faded third-century hand; on the verso are traces of an account. If μεταφορά is correctly read in l. 7, the fragment may belong to a work on rhetoric. A slight pause in l. 3 probably indicates the end of a sentence.

507 is a fragment from the bottom of a page of a papyrus codex, written in the elegant slanting hand that was the precursor of the more formal Byzantine type. It has some resemblance to Schubart, *Pal.*, Abb. 98, but is considerably freer; small finials may be

[1] See G. Coppola in *Rivista di Filologia*, 58 (1930), pp. 449 sq.

noticed on some letters, in particular τ and υ; ϵ is angular and large, while β is pinched and reaches above and below the line. If the Eusebius of l. 9 is one of the ecclesiastical writers of that name, the fragment may belong to a Christian apologetic work which attacked the pagan mythology; but he may be one of the late rhetoricians of that name, see *RE*, vi. 1445, nos. 35–8.

Another fragment from a papyrus codex, of rather later date, is **508**, written in a bold, slanting hand in reddish brown ink. It obviously belongs to a prose work, but there is nothing to give a clue to its nature.

To judge from the vocabulary, **509** should be part of an oratorical work, but I have been unable to attach it to any extant speech. It is written along the fibres in a small, rounded, and rather heavy hand; on the verso are traces, badly rubbed, of a document.

The recto of **510** is occupied with what is most probably a philosophical text written in a rounded, rather broad, book-hand; the subject seems to be a discussion of *τὸ ὅλον* and *τὰ μέρη*, such as is extant in Plato, *Theaetetus*, 204 sq. More puzzling is the text on the verso, written in a slanting, cursive hand and full of abbreviations (for which see notes: some appear to be new). The only clue to its identity lies in the names *Απαμαν* and *Σελευκ( )*, although in neither case is the reading quite certain; if they are correct, the fragment probably belongs to a historical or chronological work on the Seleucid kingdom.

Both **511** and **512** also may have belonged to philosophical works. The former is written in a small book-hand of the second century A.D., and has traces of writing on the verso; the latter is written on the verso across the fibres in a small, neat hand of much the same period; the recto is blank. The spaces after lines 3 and 10 are probably due to the scribe's having started each section on a new line.

513 is written along the fibres on rather coarse papyrus, several layers thick, in a small, crabbed hand of the second, or perhaps the late first, century A.D. The surface is abraded in parts and the ink smudged. At the bottom, in the space after l. 11, the papyrus has been pierced with a small hole. On the verso has been written in large, upright letters *]ς οικον*.

514 contains part of two columns written along the fibres in a hand which is probably an early example of the so-called 'Biblical' type (cf. the Hawara Homer in Kenyon's *Palaeography of Greek Papyri*, Plate XX, which it closely resembles). A paragraphus has been placed below l. 11 and a line-filler in l. 1. The verso is blank.

515 is a small cartonnage fragment, written along the fibres in a hand similar to that of P. Grenf. II. vii (b), or to that of P. Hib. 20. The letters are long and narrow, with a slight slope; the ink is deep black. Another small fragment of the same is too rubbed for any letters to be identified. Possibly this scrap belonged not to a prose work but to e.g. a comedy.

Another piece of early Ptolemaic cartonnage is **517**, written in a smaller and more cursive hand than **516**. Both these were found, together with **487**, among the Byzantine documents which formed part of the original collection, and were presumably overlooked by mistake when Volume I was in preparation. Hence it is not unlikely that, like **16a** and perhaps **39**, they originally came from Hibeh.

517 is remarkable as being a fragment of an opisthograph roll; both the hand on the recto and that on the verso are unmistakably book-hands, the former being upright and

medium-sized (the ϕ with an unusually long upright stroke and a broad, pinched bow is noticeable), that on the verso small, neat, and slanting. On the recto at right angles to the text another hand has added $\Delta\iota o\sigma\kappa$[, which may have some reference to the text on the verso. The text on the recto may be attributed to the second half of the second century, that on the verso to the end of the same or the beginning of the next century.

518 is a fragment from the bottom of a column, written along the fibres in an upright hand of the early second century (cf. Schubart, *Pal.*, Abb. 35). The margin is 7 cm. in depth (for a still deeper margin, see P. Ryl. 16); the verso is blank.

519 is a scrap from the top of a column, **520** from the top of a leaf of a papyrus codex; the former is written in a small, neat hand of the second century, the latter in a broad, sloping hand, certainly not earlier than the fifth century.

521 consists of two exiguous scraps, written across the fibres in a small, heavy and slightly slanting hand, probably of the second half of the second century; they might just as well belong to a verse as to a prose work. On the verso are traces of a document.

501.

Frag. (a) 4 × 9 cm. Later second century B.C.

Frag. (a).

. . . .
] . αλ . [
] Ελλαδ[
]πουσι . απ[
] [
]τωι Ρωμαιωι [
]ν ουν αντισ[
] . νηρωσ[
]σελη̣α̣[. .] . [
]ηγαν αυτα[
] . ιοις και τοις [
]υσιν Καρος οι δ̣η̣[
] ημετεραν χρ[ειαν ?
] . κ̣[. .]ρ̣ι̣ο̣[
. . . .

Frag. (b).

. . . .
] . [. .]υχο[
] · χ[.]ρον [
]ε̣[.]τηι̣δη̣[
] . α̣ν̣α̣γρα̣[
] . . ομε[
] . . [
. . . .

10. The ρ in this line seems unavoidable, as traces of a long stroke below the line can be seen; neither και οσοι nor Καρες can be read. Καρος might be either the genitive of Κάρ or the Latin name *Carus*.

14. Before the χ is a middle point, preceded by a small gap. There may have been two letters between the χ and the ρ.

502.

3·5 × 7 cm. Later second century B.C.

. . . .
]ην [
]ρ̣[.]μ̣ατα σ̣[
]π̣αρ ημων επ̣[

]ρ̣ευοντα τοις ε̣[
]να και θεους ε̣[
]ω̣μενος συνε[
]η̣ρωι και̣ αλομ̣[
]ε̣φ̣ο̣ . [
. . . .

503.

2·7 × 4·7 cm. Later second century B.C.

. . .
[. .] . [
θηνισ[
χρονο̣[
δε προ[
κεν τε[
κε̣ι ρημ̣[
σ̣π̣ε̣ . . [
. . ο̣[
. . .

504.

5 × 11·3 cm. Second to third century. PLATE 5.

. . .
] . τυ̣ .
]υς
]ν̣υν
]χες κοσμου(ν)
] ητ̣τονες
]αι κατασκευ
ευδ]αιμονες
ι]μ̣ατίων
πο]λλὼι΄ δε χρυ
]ε̣ και αργυ
]ς δε εκπω
] μὴν αγαλ
? διαγ]ρ̣αμμασι(ν)

1 sq. The most relevant sentence in Thucydides, vi. 46 runs as follows: *ἔς τε τὸ ἐν Ἔρυκι ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἀγαγόντες αὐτοὺς ἐπέδειξαν τὰ ἀναθήματα, φιάλας τε καὶ οἰνοχόας καὶ θυμιατήρια καὶ ἄλλην κατασκευὴν οὐκ ὀλίγην ἃ ὄντα ἀργυρᾶ πολλῷ πλείω τὴν ὄψιν ἀπ' ὀλίγης δυνάμεως χρημάτων παρείχετο· καὶ ἰδίᾳ ξενίσεις ποιούμενοι τῶν τριηριτῶν τά τε ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἐγέστης ἐκπώματα καὶ χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ ξυλλέξαντες καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἐγγὺς πόλεων καὶ Φοινικικῶν καὶ Ἑλληνίδων αἰτησάμενοι ἐσέφερον ἐς τὰς ἑστιάσεις ὡς οἰκεῖα ἕκαστοι.*

9. The following reconstruction of this and the following lines may be offered: *πολλωι δε χρυσωι τε και αργυρωι πολλοις δε εκπωμασιν και μην αγαλμασιν.* If *διαγραμμασιν* in l. 13 is correct (for the meaning *schedule, list*, cf. Demosthenes, xiv. 21 and xlvii. 36) it may have stood in a parenthesis.

505.

12·3 × 9·6 cm. Fifth to sixth century.

Recto.

. . . . .
[. . . . . .]ειο[
[. . . . . .]αχε[
[. . . . .]υ̣ ηνο̣[
[. . . . .]α̣σικ̣ε̣ . [
τ̣[. . . .]χειας τ[
νο[. . . .]ν καπη̣[
μα[. .] . [.]ο̣υ̣ μακ[ρ . .]κ̣ . [
χε[. .]σ[.]αι μακρα̣ι πε . [
χ[. .] . ι̣ος οις αν ηγεμων [

Verso.

. . . .
]ω̣[. . . . .]
]εστ[. . . . .]
] . αοῡ [. . . .]
] εδ̣ρα γα[. . . .]
]ποδωκ[. . . . .]
]ι̣σιν απαγ[. . . .] .
] . [. . .]λλα πο[. . . .] . δ̄
]ῃς συλαβοι δε . [. . .]διο
σ]υλλαβομενος δ̣ε̣ πυ̣ρριχιος

17. l. *συλλάβοι*.

2. Probably some form of *βραχύς*, or of its compounds *τρίβραχυς* and *ἀμφίβραχυς* is to be recognized here, as also in ll. 5 and 8.

9. For the use of *ἡγεμών* as the equivalent of *πυρρίχιος* cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Comp.* 15 and *Dem.* 47, Hephaestion (Teubner ed.) 213, 3 and 299, 8.

506.

4·8 × 6·8 cm. Third century.

. . . .
] . . [
]γι[. . . . .]θελ[
]ο̣υ̣νε̣ . . [.]ης με̣[
] . ν̣κ̣ . . δεδ . μ̣α̣νησδ[
]σ̣υνμισγομεν[
] . [. .] . α̣ρ̣χ̣ω̣ν πεν[
]ε̣ν̣[.]π̣ες με[τ]αφορα [
]α̣π̣ω̣σ̣ι̣ν̣ καρτεροι [
] . π̣αγαις χειριζοντ[
] δε̣ μοι οικοδομο̣ι̣ [
]ο̣ι̣λε̣[
] . ρ̣τουδ̣[
. . . .

507.

3·5 × 4·8 cm. Fourth century.

Recto.

. . . .
]ς αυ ο Αιας α̣π̣[
]αμεν πολλους
] γεγονεν Αιας δε̣[
]ος ετεροι τ̣ο̣[
]ως Ορεστη̣ν̣ [
]καθιππ̣[

Verso.

. . . .
]θ̣η μοι ποθου̣[
]κω γ εμε επιστ[
]α̣ι ο Ευσεβιος ε[
]ε̣ ει και μη[
]αυτου ακρ[
] στεφαν[

3. In view of l. 1,] *γεγονεναι ας δε* [, is a less likely division.

508.

4·4 × 5·2 cm. Fifth century.

Recto.

. . . .
[. . . .] . [
[τ]ω τριτω π̣[

Verso.

. . .
] . ανε̣[.]
]ωνηλα

[.]ον στηναι
[. .]ο θεοφιλ̣[
[. .] μελλων̣ [
[. .]αβαλλο . [
[. . .]αρησα[
[. . .]ι̣ πο̣λ[
. . . .

]υς και λο
] . προς κα
α]γαθων
]ω̣ς εχει
]την του
]υσας
. . .

4. Perhaps the proper name, Θεοφιλ[ος.

509.

3·9 × 5 cm. Second century.

. . .
] . ρ̣α̣
]ων
υ]π̣ευθυνος
ε]ισαγει
λ]οιδορει
]ες̣ χειρω
]ρ̣[. . . .]
] . ε̣σ̣[. . .]
εγ]κωμιαζ[.]

510.

6·3 × 7·9 cm. Second to third century. PLATE 9.

Recto.

. δ
]δ̣ικα . ε̣κ̣ατερον ε
]ρ̣ωγ̣α̣ . . α̣ν̣ γαρ οτι δ[.]
] . . η̣ι̣ ε̣κ̣ τουτ̣ω̣ν̣ δ̣[.]
]κενοις τας τα μερη
]τ̣ο̣ ολον αναγκη το παρ[.]
]κ̣οστουκενεν̣π̣ο̣δ̣[.]
] . σ̣ . [.]τωι αλλ εν πλει
[στοις]ρ̣ο̣[.]η̣τα κ̣α̣ι τ̣ο
]η̣ρω̣ν̣ . ι
]οτω̣α̣·
]ω̣ . η̣π̣[. .]
. . . . .

Verso.

. . . . . .
[. . . . . .]τ̣ιστ[
[. . . . . .]κ̣ευ( ) δ(ια)λεγ[
[. . . . . .]υδ( ) καλλα̣[
[. . . .] . [. . .]δικ( ) ε( ) τε̣[
[. . .]μ̣ . λιαν υ( )πτο . [ε
π̣ιβιωσας ο̅β̅ δ(ια)δοχ[ος?
γεγονως Σελευκ̣( ) μ . [
ισως α̣( ) κ(αι)περ σ̣(υν)ε̣λ̣( ) επι̣[
δ(ια) τ(ην) Απαμ̣αν ωρασθ(αι) [
οπλ̣ο̣(υ) δι ο̣υ̣ αφ( ) σ(υλ)λεγομ( ) [
φοβος γυ̣ε̣ . α( ) . γινομ( ) [
ουρανο(υ) ημι̣θ̣αιο(υ) κοκυ[

Recto.

1. Line 2 is quite clearly the first line of the column and consequently it is difficult to interpret the . δ as other than numeration. For the numeration of *columns* there is little or no evidence, cf. Schubart, *Das Buch*², p. 137; the letter before δ resembles an *o* (thus, if the letters are numerals, giving a surprisingly high figure), but an μ is not impossible.

4. Above the second τ of $\tau o \upsilon \tau \omega \nu$ are clear traces of ink; these look most like a τ, but perhaps are intended as a critical sign, I (cf. ·I· in the Antinoë Juvenal, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, xxi (1935), p. 202).

5. Perhaps]$\kappa \epsilon \upsilon$ $o \iota \sigma \tau \alpha \varsigma$, from $o \grave{\iota} \sigma \tau \acute{o} \varsigma$ = *tolerable*, but this does not seem probable.

7. The division of this line is difficult. The double $\epsilon \upsilon$ may be due to dittography; if so, we might read]$\kappa o \varsigma$ τ' $o \upsilon \kappa$ $\epsilon \upsilon \pi o \delta$[.].

Verso.

2.]$\kappa \epsilon \upsilon'$ δ P. The former abbreviation is perhaps for $\pi \alpha \rho \alpha \sigma$]$\kappa \epsilon \upsilon \omega \nu$: for the symbol cf. BKT. I, p. 2, and BKT. IV, pp. 2 sq.; for the latter see note to l. 6.

3.]$\upsilon \delta'$ P. The stroke of abbreviation is more slanting than that after υ in l. 2: perhaps τo]υ $\delta(\epsilon)$. If the following word is a proper name, either $\Kappa \alpha \lambda \lambda \alpha$[$\iota \sigma \chi \rho o \varsigma$ or $\Kappa \alpha \lambda \lambda \alpha$[$\varsigma$ might be read; but neither seems very suitable in this context.

4. $\delta \iota \kappa$]ϵ P. The former is probably for $\delta \iota \kappa (\eta \varsigma)$: for the symbol cf. BKT. IV, p. 2; ϵ' normally = $\grave{\epsilon} \pi \acute{\iota}$ but in l. 8 this is not abbreviated.

5. $o \mu \iota \lambda \iota \alpha \nu$ cannot be read here; instead of the first ι, ρ might be read, while the letter preceding the λ is probably o or ω. υ' P; probably $\grave{\upsilon} (\pi \acute{o})$ or $\grave{\upsilon} (\pi \acute{\epsilon} \rho)$, more probably the former. $\Pi \tau o \lambda$[$\epsilon \mu \alpha \iota o \upsilon$ might be read.

6. δ P. This abbreviation appears to be new: $\delta \iota \alpha$ is commonly abbreviated $\delta \grave{}$.

7. $\sigma \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \upsilon \kappa'$ P.

8. $\ddot{\iota} \sigma \omega \varsigma$ α' P; perhaps for some form of $\alpha \grave{\upsilon} \tau \acute{o} \varsigma$: $\delta(\epsilon)$ might be read for α, but is less likely. $\kappa \varsigma$: σ_{ς} : ϵ^{λ} P. The usual symbol for $\sigma \acute{\upsilon} \nu$ is σ'.

9. δ $\tau \grave{}$ P. The latter is the regular abbreviation for $\tau \acute{\eta} \nu$. For the name $\Alpha \pi \alpha \mu \alpha$, see Pape, *Namenbuch*, s.v.; one bearer of this name was the wife of Seleucus Nicator. $\omega \rho \alpha \sigma \theta \alpha \iota$: ? for $\grave{\epsilon} \omega \rho \hat{\alpha} \sigma \theta \alpha \iota$.

10. $\alpha \phi$]$'$ P. The abbreviation after $\lambda \epsilon \gamma o \mu$ as after $\gamma \iota \nu o \mu$ in the next line is the same as that after $\omega \rho \alpha \sigma \theta$ in l. 9, i.e. $\mathcal{S}$; but here it seems more likely to stand for the participial than for the infinitival termination.

11. α' P. The next letter resembles d, the symbol for $\frac{1}{4}$, but what looks like ink may only be a stain.

12. $\eta \mu \iota \theta \alpha \iota o (\upsilon)$: perhaps for $\eta \mu \iota \theta \epsilon o \upsilon$, but the reading is doubtful. At the end of the line, presumably $\kappa o \kappa \kappa \upsilon \xi$, or some part or derivative of it, should be read.

511.

3·2 × 5·6 cm.

Second century.

. . . . .
$\pi \epsilon \rho$]ι $\tau \omega \nu$ $\epsilon \rho \omega \tau \omega \mu$[$\epsilon \nu \omega \nu$
ϵ]$\upsilon \tau \rho \epsilon \pi \epsilon \sigma \theta \alpha \iota$ [
]$\mu \eta$. [.] $\tau o \iota$[
] . $\rho \alpha$ $\pi \alpha \nu \tau \alpha$[
]$\upsilon \tau \omega \lambda \alpha$[. .] . $\theta \epsilon$[
] . . $\alpha \iota$. [.] $\tau \eta \nu$ τ[
]$\mu \upsilon \eta$[
] . . υ[
. . . . .

512.

3·6 × 5·4 cm.

Second century.
PLATE 6.

. . .
]$\alpha \rho \omega$
]$\pi \alpha$ $\alpha \lambda$
]$\alpha \iota \tau \epsilon$ $\psi \epsilon \upsilon$
]
] . $\iota \nu$ $\alpha \lambda \eta \theta$[.]
] . $\epsilon \gamma \epsilon \rho \theta \eta$

]$\epsilon \omega \varsigma$ τo $\kappa \alpha$
]ς $\tau \rho \epsilon \chi \epsilon \iota$
]$o \varsigma$ $\epsilon \iota$ $\delta \epsilon$ $\mu \eta$
τ]o $\alpha \gamma \alpha \theta o \nu$
]
σ]$\chi o \lambda \eta \nu$ $\tau o \upsilon$

513.

2·7 × 8 cm. ? Second century.

. . . .
]αμαλ̣υ . . [
]ετα οδε π̣[
]μματα σου[
]τ . σ̣ε̣ξαο[
] . πο . [
] . . υ̣π̣ε̣ν̣ σ̣τ̣η . [
]υτης δ̣ε̣ π̣α̣τ̣ρ[

] . α̣μα παυσονη̣[
]ν . . λως εστ[
]μοι και η[
]ινοις ε̣ν κα . [
] [
] . ακεται̣ . . [
. . . .

514.

7 × 7 cm. Second century. PLATE 7.

Col. i.

. . .
]ο̣ μακα >
]υ̣μειτο
]ειν σα
]ον εκε
]τω σοφι
]πρα
]οι

Col. ii.

. . .
οτι κ . [
τας π[
πονο[
νετο̣ν̣ [
κα̣ι̣ οπ[
. [. .]π̣[
ραν ν̣ . [
λοντ[
τηs φ[
[.]ον φ[

515.

2·6 × 2·4 cm. Third century B.C. PLATE 5.

. . . .
]αλλο̣ν̣[
]ρ̣ θεοις εδοξε τ̣[
] γλυκυ τι πα[
]ν̣αι τα ατι̣ . [
]κ̣ `ει [[.]]′το̣ [
. . . .

516.

2 × 2·2 cm. Third century B.C.

. . .
]η̣π̣[
] . s προs τ̣ε να[
]φ . υ̣π̣ητη̣ . [

2. Or προσγενα[μεν . . .]

517.

2·6 × 3·5 cm. Second century.

Recto.

. .
ματ[
διδο̣[
λογο[
συνε̣[
5 και ε̣τ[
φιαν[
[.]ν̣α̣ν[
. .

Verso.

. . .
]ει̣τ̣[
] . τ̣α̣λαις κ[
] τοιουτων υ[
]οραν ειτ[
5]στηκοσιν[
]νων ευμ . [
] τ̣αυτα και χα[
]ον επιμεμ[
]επειαν π[
10] . [.]τ̣ . [
. . .

518.

3·2 × 8·1 cm. Early second century.

. . .
]αντες ν[
]εν δ ου μα[

519.

2·3 × 3·2 cm. Second century.

]η̣τ̣ο̣υ̣ ε̣π̣[
]π̣ . . . τον[
]ωι και τα̣[
] . [
. . .

520.

3 × 5·7 cm. Fifth to sixth century.

Recto.

]σου ισερχ
]ν̣νο[
. .

Verso.

]κ̣εραιον α[
. . .

1. l. εἰσερχ[

521. Frag. (a) 1·3 × 2 cm. Late second century.

(a)

. .
νω̣[
μ[
τε[
εν[
. . ο̣[
. .

(b)

. . .
] . α̣σθ[
]εισαπ̣[
]ρ̣γειων[
]τασε . [
. . .

8. ? Α]ργειων.

IV. SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL TEXTS

522. PTOLEMY, Ἐπισήμων Πόλεων Κανών.[1]

Acquired in 1917. ? Fayûm. 11·3 × 11·7 cm. Third century. PLATE 4.

This papyrus, on the recto of which are the astronomical tables (no. **523**), contains on the verso[2] a select list of cities (in the extant portion are included those of Spain, Gaul, the Danubian provinces and Italy), accompanied in each case by a statement of their respective longitude and latitude. As Honigmann (*op. cit.*, p. 62) has shown, the term *ἐπίσημοι πόλεις* may well be older than Ptolemy and may have denoted even before his time a fixed list of cities; it is, however, particularly associated with the Ἐπισήμων Πόλεων Κανών which formed the *πρῶτον κανόνιον* of Ptolemy's Πρόχειροι Κανόνες and was designed to serve as a *Hilfsmittel* (Honigmann, p. 70) to the astronomical tables. (It may be noted that the tables on the recto of this papyrus are certainly Ptolemaic in origin; see introd. to **523**.) This list has often been regarded as a late and spurious by-product of the *Geography* (so apparently O. Cuntz, *Die Geographie des Ptolemaeus* (Berlin, 1923), pp. 37–8) and is not printed by Heiberg in his text of the Πρόχειροι Κανόνες; while W. Kubitschek *Die Kalenderbücher*, *Denkschr. Kais. Akad. Wien*, lvii (1915), 3, pp. 76–7, who thinks it of some value for the text of Ptolemy, regards it merely as an excerpt from Bk. VIII of the *Geography* and considers that the measurements by latitude and longitude (the form in which they appear in the papyrus) were first inserted in the Κανών by an editor of the late fourth-century astronomer Theon—a view which is refuted by the existence of this papyrus. In Bk. VIII of the *Geography* Ptolemy gives a select list of geographical names to accompany the maps to his *Geography* in which the positions are given, not by degrees of longitude and latitude, but by the difference in time calculated from the meridian of Alexandria and by the number of hours on the longest day. Although Ptolemy explicitly says (*Opera Astronomica Minora*, ed. Heiberg, p. 159) *περιέχουσι δὲ οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι κανόνες τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένης ἐπισημοτέρων πόλεων τὰς κατὰ μῆκος καὶ πλάτος ἐποχάς*, this list in Bk. VIII has often been regarded as the source of the Κανών. Against this view Honigmann (p. 71) is of opinion that Ptolemy published the Κανών because the method employed in Bk. VIII was so clumsy as to render it too difficult to use; both he and Schnabel, who (p. 242) regards Bk. VIII as an earlier work than the Κανών, are of opinion that the Κανών in its original form contained only the names listed in Bk. VIII.[3]

[1] The principal works which I have used in editing this text are as follows: E. Honigmann, *Die Sieben Klimata und die Πόλεις Ἐπίσημοι* (Heidelberg, 1929); J. Fischer, *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographiae Codex Urbinas Graecus 82*, Tomus Prodromus (Leyden/Leipzig, 1932); P. Schnabel, *Die Entstehungsgeschichte des kartographischen Erdbildes des Klaudius Ptolemaios*, S. B. Preuss. Akad. 1930, pp. 214–50. I wish also to thank Dr. J. G. Smyly, who saw a copy of the text at an early stage and made some valuable suggestions.

[2] On the question whether these texts were part of a codex or of an opisthograph roll see introduction to **523**, p. 153.

[3] Schnabel thinks that Bk. VIII originally gave the degrees of longitude and latitude, and that the Κανών is an 'Auszug aus

Recently the authenticity and independence of the Κανών have been convincingly defended by J. Fischer who points out (pp. 91 sq.) that the measurements given in the tables do not agree completely either with those of Bk. VIII or with those of Bks. II–VII, though they are closer to the latter; and further, that neither the order nor the number of the cities corresponds to that of Bk. VIII. It may be added that the headings attached to the various sections of Bk. VIII are not found in any of the MSS. of the Κανών. It is of course easy to argue, as does Kubitschek (*op. cit.*, pp. 77–9) that every name in the Κανών not found in Bk. VIII is an interpolation, and further, that of two ninth-century MSS., one is preferable to the other because it does not include the two Italian towns Pisa and Praeneste; yet both these towns are recorded, though not in quite the same position, in the third-century papyrus. It is at the least remarkable that a papyrus of this date, earlier than the recensions of Pappus and Theon, should contain the same 'interpolations' as the ninth-century Leidensis LXXVIII. Even Honigmann is of opinion that the Κανών included only those cities listed in Bk. VIII, although, as the two lists were published for different purposes, there is no reason why they should correspond. The papyrus may be held to support Fischer's view: 'An sich . . . spricht die Vermehrung der Städte und die Positionsänderung derselben nicht gegen ptolemäischen Ursprung' (p. 101), and his conclusions that 'der Städtekanon der Astronomischen Handtafeln eine bedeutend vermehrte neue und verbesserte Ausgabe der Tabellen der ausgezeichneten Städte der Geographie zu bieten scheint' (p. 99), and may be later not only than Bk. VIII, but than Bks. II–VII as well.

The best description of the MSS. of the Κανών is to be found in Schnabel (pp. 221 sq.). Of these the four most important date from the ninth century, and of these four, two, Vaticanus Graecus 1291 (V) and Leidensis LXXVIII (L), have been made accessible by Honigmann (Appendix, pp. 193–231). Of these two V, although it has suffered considerably from displacement of the leaves, is commonly regarded as the more reliable text, and there is reason for thinking (Honigmann, pp. 73, 78) that this MS. represents the recension of Pappus (late third century). L, on the other hand, so Honigmann thinks (p. 75), may stand in the same relation to the work of Theon (late fourth century). L contains a greater number of cities not listed in Bk. VIII than V, and hence Kubitschek is of opinion that L has suffered more from interpolation than V. Schnabel points out (p. 224) that L has 50 per cent. more names than V; among the 'interpolations' common to all four MSS., each of which represents a different recension, he mentions Ἀρέλατον which in all probability is also found in the papyrus (l. 16). The text of the papyrus (which can be regarded as prior to the work of both Pappus and Theon) is not identical with the text of either V or L; but its divergencies from the latter are few. It differs from L only in omitting Epidaurus (in Illyria), in including Emona (found in V, not in L) and Aricia (though no measurements are given for this in the papyrus: see note to line 36) and in placing Praeneste and Pisa immediately before Rome instead of immediately after Nicaea. In view of the number of interpolations which have been attributed to L, the degree of agreement between the two texts is remarkable; it must, however, be remembered that only fifty lines of the papyrus are extant. Its disagreements with V (in its present form)

Buch VIII', and precedes Bk. II–VII of the Geography. It appears that this cannot be established (Fischer, p. 532) until a critical text of the Κανών has been published.

both in the number and order of the cities are more numerous; but it may be noticed that occasionally (e.g. ll. 12 and 32) its measurements agree with those of V against L and the *Geography*.[1] In view of Fischer's theory that the Κανών represents a revision by Ptolemy of his earlier work, it is interesting to find that on occasion (e.g. l. 31 Salonae and l. 8 Augustodunum[2]) it agrees with V and L against G: in other places (e.g. l. 17 Vienna[2]; here the other MSS. of the Κανών may have been influenced by G) it disagrees with all three.

The papyrus is written in a rounded hand, handsome and easy, which is probably not later than the middle of the third century and may well be earlier. Down the edge of each column is drawn a double line in red ink and there are traces of a similar line along the bottom margin. A single vertical line (also in red ink) separates the names of the cities from the longitudes and another the latter from the latitudes, while horizontal lines divide up the cities into sections of two or occasionally three names. The first letter of the names of provinces or countries projects into the narrow margin between the two columns: against Rome has been set a cross with a stroke through the middle of it in red ink and a small circle in black ink—the only city to be honoured with a 'double star'. This format is of some interest, as it seems to have persisted in MSS. of the Κανών; at least, in two of the MSS. described by Fischer (pp. 93–5: Vat. Gr. 1291 and Vat. Gr. 208) the tables are surrounded by a double line drawn in red ink and are divided into fifteen sections (in a complete column of the papyrus there would have been more) by cross-lines, also in red ink. The orthography, though not perfect, is better than might be expected of an Egyptian scribe harassed by foreign names, and compares favourably with that of L. This is the first text of Ptolemy to be found in his native Egypt; although another Rylands papyrus (I. **27**: see introd.), which is probably based on his work, bears the title Ὑπόμνημα Πτολεμαίου. This text, as well as **524** and **526**, was said to have come from the Fayûm.

The text has been collated with the texts of V and L as given by Honigmann, and with Müller's edition of the G(eography), Bks. II–III.

[1] Bks. II–III (ed. Müller, 1883): henceforth referred to as G.

[2] As a glance at the text will show, all the names in col. i of the papyrus have been restored from the measurements, and consequently cannot be regarded as certain.

Col. i.

. . . . .		
[Κλουνια	ια	]μβ
[Καισαρεια Αυγουστα	ιδL′	μ]αL′
[? Ταρρακων	ιϛγ’	μ]γγ’
[Ακουιτανιας		]
[Μεδιολανιον	ιζγο′	μϛ]Ͱ
[Βουρδιγαλα	ιη	με]L′
[Λουγδουνησιας		]
[Αυγουστοδουνον]	κγ[γ’]	μϛϛ′
[Λουγδουνον]	κγd′	[μεγ′]
[Βελγικης		]
[Γησοριακον	κ]βL′	νγγ’
[Δουροκοττορον	κ]γd′	μηL′
[Ναρβωνησιας	]	
[Μασσαλια	]καϛ′	μγιβ′
[Ναρβων	κ]αL′	μγd′
[Αρελατον	κ]αd′	μγγ’
[Ουιεννα	κ]	μδ
[Νεμαυσος	κ]β	μδL′
[Γερμανιας	]	

Col. ii.

	. . . . .		
	] . . [		
Π	α]ννονιᾳ[ς της ανω		
	Ποτοουιο[ν]		
	Καρβαντι[α		
	Ημωνα [		
Π	αννον[ι]ας τη[ς κατω		
	Σεβιτιον [		
	Μουρ̀σ′εια [		
	Σιρμιον	μδL′	με
I	λλυριδος		
	Ιαδερ	μβ	μγγ’
	Σαλωναι	μγL′	μγ⌜ο
	Συδρων	μγd′	μδL′
	Ναρωνα	μδγ′	[μβ]Ͱ
	Σαρδωνα Νησος	μαL′	[
I	ταλιας		
	Νικοτεραι Αρικια	κη	μ[
	Ταρακειναι	λζL′	[
	Νεαπολις [		
	Ρηγιον Ιου[λιου		
	Ταρρας [		
	Βρεντεσι[ον		
	Αγκων [		
	Ραουεννα [		
	Ακουλεια [		
	Πραινεστος [		
	Πεισαι [		
*	*Ρωμη [		
	Μενουεντος [		
	Καπυη [		
	Κυρνου [νησος		

1. In L, 30 names, either of cities, provinces, or countries, appear before Κλουνία; of these, Ταρρακών (spelled Καταρρακων), which comes in l. 3 of the papyrus, is one, so that we can calculate that some 29 lines are missing from col. i of the papyrus, i.e. the column had *c.* 48 lines. Between Γερμανιας (l. 19), however, and Παννονιας της ανω there are only 15 names in L, which would give us only 45 lines in col. ii. The table would have begun with the British Isles, and it should be noted that five of the names which appear in L are not given in the corresponding list in the *Geography*, Bk. VIII (3, 3–11); hence it is more likely that the papyrus omitted in col. i three of the names which appear in L than that it added in col. ii to the cities listed in L as situated in Germany or the Alpine provinces. The column, then, more probably contained 45 than 48 lines.

3. The parallel of Ταρρακών is given in G and L as μ′γο″, in V as μγ′. In L it appears immediately before Κλουνία; in V its position is the same as in the papyrus.

4–5. Neither the heading Ἀκουιτανίας nor the form Μεδιολάνιον are listed in L; both appear in V, but in this MS. the cities of the Danube lands are inserted between those of Spain and Gaul. In the general order the papyrus agrees with L. In G and V the parallel of Μεδιολάνιον is given μς′∠″δ″.

6. με′∠″, so G and L: μς′∠″ V.

7. In L the position of the province is given as ιη′ με′δ″; in V, as in the papyrus and elsewhere in L in the case of provinces, the measurements are omitted. Possibly the figures in L are due to dittography.

8. Here the papyrus agrees with L and V; in G the measurements are κγ′γο″ and μς′∠″.

10. Or Κελτικης Γαλλιας, as in L.

11. The parallel of Gesoriacum appears as νγ′∠″ in G and L; none is given in V.

12. κγ∠′δ′ in G and L: κγ′, with the papyrus, V.

14. G and L give the meridian of Marseilles as κδ′∠″, V as κδγ; the κα′ς″ of the papyrus is probably due to manuscript corruption. Thirteen of the MSS. of the *Geography* cited by Müller read κδ′ς″ for κδ′∠″.

16. κβ′∠″δ″ G, V, and L.

17. με′ G, V, and L. According to Strabo (see Müller's note, p. 242), the measurement would be μδ′γ′ι′β″, which is more accurate than Ptolemy's measurement in the *Geography*. The papyrus here, as elsewhere, may represent a later correction by Ptolemy.

18. μδ′∠″, so G and L: με′∠″ V.

23. Read ⟨Σ⟩καρβαντί[α.

24. Emona is listed in V (l. 30), but is omitted in L. After Emona, Καρνουνιον (l. Καρνοῦντος) is given in V; this is absent from L as well as from the papyrus.

26. Read Σε⟨ρ⟩βίτιον.

28. The meridian of Sirmium is given as μδ′∠″γ″ in G and V, as μδ′∠″δ″ in L (also in a Paris MS. of G).

30. The parallel of Ἰαδερ (Zara) is given as μγ′∠″δ″ in G, V, and L.

31. In G the meridian of Salonae appears as μγ′γ″; one MS., however, X, agrees with V, L, and the papyrus in reading μγ′∠″. G gives the parallel as μγ′ς″ (V—no doubt through a scribal error—reads μς′γ″), L as μδ′∠″.

32. For Συδρων read Σιδρῶνα. The reading of the papyrus here agrees with that of V, which may represent a corrected version of G's reading of the meridian as μγ′∠″: L gives μγ′∠″ and μγ′ς″.

33. So G and V: L reads μδ′ς″ and μβ′γ″.

34. Read Σ⟨κ⟩αρδῶνα νῆσος. Between Σκαρδῶνα and Ἰταλίας L gives Ἐπίδαυρος; probably a later insertion from the *Geography*, since it does not appear in V or in the papyrus or in the select list of cities in *Geography*, Bk. VIII.

35. ἴταλιας P.

36. It is not easy to explain how the corruption in this line has arisen; the writer has no doubt confused Nicaea (Νίκαια Μασσαλιωτῶν) with Nicotera in S. Italy, and the meridian given is that of Nicaea. The strange thing is that Nicotera does not even appear in *Geography*, Bk. III, let alone in Bk. VIII or in the Κανών. More surprising is the addition of Aricia in Latium, which has no connexion either with Nicaea or Nicotera; this town again, though it is listed in *Geography*, Bk. III, does not appear in Bk. VIII or in the Κανών.

Immediately after Nicaea, L places Πεῖσαι and Πραίνεστον (Πτετεστος MS.), in that order; in the papyrus they appear in the reversed order after Aquileia. They are omitted in V. For the different position assigned to them in other MSS. see Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 101. Kubitschek (*Denkschr. Wien. Akad.*, 57 (1915), p. 78), regards it as a proof of the superiority of V that these two towns have not been inserted; but if they are an unauthorized addition to the text of Ptolemy the insertion must have been made very early, as their presence in the papyrus shows.

37. Read Ταρρακῖναι. So V: λζ′∠″δ″ L and G (though one MS., X, reads λζ′∠″).

47. The position of Rome in the papyrus is that assigned to it in L, except that Praenestum and Pisae appear after Nicaea in L (see note to l. 36). V also places it after Aquileia; but then (perhaps owing to a tear in the MS., see Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 101) goes on to Dacia.

47. Read Βενεουεντός.

48. L reads Κυρνοναλερια, all in one line. It is more likely that in the papyrus Aleria appeared as a separate line.

523. ASTRONOMICAL TABLE.

Acquired in 1917. 11·3 × 11·7 cm. Third century.

The identity of this papyrus was discovered by the late Dr. Fotheringham, to whom I am greatly indebted for the substance of the following introduction. The extant text is part of a table of oblique ascensions (the intervals by which any point in the sky rises later than the first point of Aries, i.e. the spring equinoctial point) for each degree of the ecliptic and for each of a series of zones (*κλίματα*); the present fragment extends from the 12th to the 30th degree of Pisces and gives the ascension in degrees and minutes for the fourth, fifth, and sixth zones—Rhodes (Lat. 36° 0′), Hellespont (Lat. 40° 56′), and Mid Pontus (Lat. 45° 1′). A similar list for every 10° of the ecliptic is given by Ptolemy in the second book of the *Almagest* (ed. Heiberg, vol. i, pp. 134–9) with the heading *Κανόνιον τῶν κατὰ δεκαμοιρίαν ἀναφορῶν*; and the values for each tenth degree in the papyrus coincide with those given in the *Almagest*. But in the *Πρόχειροι Κανόνες* of Ptolemy a fuller table, extending to each degree of the ecliptic, was given; and the first question raised by the papyrus (of importance also for the text on the verso, **522**) is whether it can claim to give us the true text of the *Πρόχειροι Κανόνες*. The only published text of these tables, based on a late and none too reliable MS.[1], is that of the Abbé Halma in his *Tables Manuelles de Ptolemée et de Théon*, II. i sqq. (Paris 1823); in the printed text the tables are arranged according to *κλίματα*, i.e. the oblique ascensions for all twelve signs of the zodiac are given first for *κλίμα πρῶτον* then for *κλίμα δεύτερον* and so on. In the papyrus the arrangement is reversed; the oblique ascensions for Pisces alone were clearly given for all seven zones, and we may suppose that this table was preceded by similar tables for the other signs. A further difference is that in Halma's text, side by side with the oblique ascensions (*ἀναφοραί*), the *ὡριαῖοι χρόνοι* (the number of equinoctial hours in the longest day) are added in parallel columns for each *κλίμα* at each sign of the Zodiac. It is quite clear that the papyrus did not contain this table.

This in itself is not conclusive; not only is it possible that the arrangement in Halma's text is substantially the work, not of Ptolemy, but of his fourth-century commentator Theon, but a similar rearrangement may have been made by a scribe (Dr. Fotheringham pointed out to me that the same is true of the MSS. of Jerome's *Chronica*). Of more importance are the differences in the figures; of these Dr. Fotheringham wrote: 'These are not accidental, but systematic, and imply a difference in the methods of interpolation adopted. I notice that the values for each tenth degree accord with those given in the *Almagest*. I presume that neither Ptolemy nor his successors made a separate computation for each degree, but found the values for intermediate degrees by interpolation. In the figures which you quote from Halma (*op. cit.*, p. 48) it is clear that the figures for Pisces 23°, 24° [in the sixth zone, Mid Pontus] respectively, viz. 356° 26′, 356° 26′, are copyists' errors or misprints for 356° 25′, 356° 56′. With these corrections the difference of 5° 8′ given by Ptolemy in the Almagest between the values for Pisces 20° and Pisces 30° for Mid Pontus [the sixth

[1] For the MSS. of the *Πρόχειροι Κανόνες* see Heiberg's *Prolegomena* to Ptolemy's *Opera Astronomica Minora* (Teubner). None of the early MSS. are as yet accessible in printed form.

zone] is divided in Halma's text into eight intervals of 31′, followed by two intervals of 30′, the two short intervals occupying the two last places. The exact intervals on the papyrus are not so clear because the last figure is sometimes lost or illegible. Happily the figures are complete for the Hellespont (col. ii of the papyrus) from Pisces 12° to Pisces 30°. For Pisces 10° Ptolemy gives in the *Almagest* for the Hellespont 348° 33′ and for the differences for the following 10°, 5° 47′, and for the last ten degrees of Pisces 5° 40′. This should give a mean interval of 34·7′ for each degree from 20° to 30°. Work with these two mean intervals and you get exactly the figures of the papyrus in this column. I take it, then, that this is the computer's rule of interpolation.' The rule holds good, without any difficulties for col. iii of the papyrus, the zone of Mid Pontus, but does not work out quite so well for col. i, the zone of Rhodes. To quote Dr. Fotheringham again: 'The computer had 381′ to divide between Pisces 10° and Pisces 20°. On this rule he should have had nine intervals of 38′, followed by one of 39′. But it is clear that one of the first four intervals has been selected for 39′. Between Pisces 20° and Pisces 30°, Pisces 24° is lost on the papyrus. Of the other eight[1], seven values agree with this rule; but for Pisces 29° the rule gives *τνθ κβ* while the papyrus gives clearly *τνθ κγ*.' Here we may suspect an error of the scribe, if not of the scholar.

That the table given by the papyrus is at least based on Ptolemy may legitimately be deduced from its agreement with the *Almagest* in the readings for Pisces 20° and 30°; but whether the quantities shown on the papyrus are copied from the Πρόχειροι Κανόνες or independently interpolated from the *Almagest* is a question that can hardly be answered with the evidence at our disposal. The balance of evidence is, perhaps, against the view that the table, in the shape in which it appears on the papyrus, formed part of the text of the Πρόχειροι Κανόνες; against that may be set the fact that the papyrus is early in date, that rearrangement and disorder particularly in late MSS. are by no means unknown, and that the text on the verso of these tables belongs, almost certainly, to the Πρόχειροι Κανόνες. It is to be hoped that further evidence will soon be forthcoming from some of the unpublished MSS.

The papyrus is written along the fibres, almost certainly in the same hand which was responsible for the list of Ἐπίσημοι Πόλεις on the verso: the writing, however, is less compressed and the figures larger. We may suppose that this table was preceded by similar tables for the other eleven signs of the Zodiac, and was itself the last. In that case, one other column, after col. iii, would be required for the seventh[2] zone, that of the Borysthenes, and the same amount of space would suffice, on the verso, for the names of the cities in the first column of the Ἐπισήμων Πόλεων Κανών. Hence our fragment might come from the end of a roll; that the writing on the verso begins at what is the end of the recto might suggest that the reader was meant to turn direct from recto to verso. It is, however, possible that the papyrus is not a fragment of an opisthograph roll, but of a leaf of a codex; in favour of this it may be noted that the list of the degrees 1–30 stands immediately

[1] In the copy of the text seen by Dr. Fotheringham, I had read *τνε* λ]ζ, for Pisces 23°, which would involve a further discrepancy: the reading required by the rule *τνε λη* and suggested by Dr. Fotheringham was confirmed by a re-examination of the papyrus.

[2] The number of *κλίματα* was generally accepted as seven: in Halma's text, an eighth, that of Byzantium, is added: in general see E. Honigmann, *Die Sieben Klimata und die* Πόλεις Ἐπίσημοι, pp. 7 sq.

before col. i, but not before the other two columns, and this although col. i on the papyrus is col. iv of the text, as the measurements for the first three zones must have preceded it; this suggests that the left side of the papyrus was the left side of a page, and the degrees of the ecliptic were repeated on each page. Further the table of oblique ascensions would come to an end after one more column (Pisces being the last of the signs of the Zodiac), and it is possible that this Κανών was directly succeeded by the Ἐπισήμων Πόλεων Κανών; and the part of that text preserved on the verso of the papyrus is certainly from the beginning of the Κανών. Against this view should be set the fact that the writing, though probably in the same hand, differs in size, and that the end of the column of writing comes lower down the page on the verso than on the recto. The form of the recto is similar to that of the verso; columns are separated by double lines in red ink, while divisions within the column are marked by single lines. The sign for zero, ↄ—ₒ‹, is interesting; Dr. Smyly suggests that the long line is an ornamental expansion of the *υ* in ὄ = οὐ(δέν).[1]

After the text and transcription I have added a table showing the measurements in Halma's text for the degrees corresponding to the extant portion of our text; the columns, of course, do not appear in this order in Halma, and I have omitted the *ὡριαῖοι χρόνοι*.

	Col. i.			Col ii.		Col. iii.		
	[κλιμα τεταρτον]			[κλιμα πεμπτον]		[κλιμα εκτον]		
	. . .			. . .		. . .		
	ιβ		]	τμθ	μβ	[		
	[ιγ		]	τν	ιζ	[		
	[ιδ	τμθ	]νη	τν	να	[		
	[ιε	τν	λ]ϛ	τνα	κϛ	τ[		
5	[ιϛ	τνα]	ιδ	τνβ	ↄ—ₒ‹	τνβ[		
	ιζ	τνα	νβ	τνβ	λε	τνγ[		
	ιη	τνβ	λ	τνγ	ι	τν[γ		
	ιθ	τνγ	η	τνγ	με	τν[δ		
	κ	τνγ	μϛ	τνδ	κ	τν[δ		
10	[κα]	τνδ	κγ	τνδ	νδ	τνε	κ[	
	κβ]	τνε	ↄ—ₒ‹	τνε	κη	τνε	νγ	[
	[κγ]	τνε]	λ]η	τνϛ	β	[τ]νϛ	κδ	[
	[κδ]	τνϛ]	]	τνϛ	λϛ	τνϛ	ν[	] . . [
	[κε]	τνϛ]	νγ	τνζ	ι	τνζ	κϛ[	
15	[κϛ]	τνζ]	λ	τνζ	μδ	τνζ	ν[	
	[κζ]	τνη]	ζ	τνη	ιη	τνη	κζ	[
	[κη]	τνη]	με	τνη	ν[[δ]]β	τνη	νη	[
	[κθ]	τνθ]	κγ	τνθ	κϛ	τνθ	κθ	[
	[λ]	τξ]	ↄ—ₒ‹	τξ	ↄ—ₒ‹	τξ	ↄ—ₒ‹	[

[1] Since this was written, the same explanation of this sign has been offered by Mr. F. E. Robbins in P. Mich. III, 151, introduction.

12.				349°	42′			
13.				350°	17′			
14.	349°	58′		350°	51′			
15.	350°	36′		351°	26′			
16.	351°	14′		352°	0′		352°	[
17.	351°	52′		352°	35′		353°	[
18.	352°	30′		353°	10′		353°	[
19.	353°	8′		353°	45′		354°	[
20.	353°	46′		354°	20′		354°	[
21.	354°	23′		354°	54′		355°	[
22.	355°	0′		355°	28′		355°	53′
23.	355°	38′		356°	2′		356°	24′
24.	356°	[ ]		356°	36′		356°	[
25.	356°	53′		357°	10′		357°	26′
26.	357°	30′		357°	44′		357°	[
27.	358°	7′		358°	18′		358°	27′
28.	358°	45′		358°	52′		358°	58′
29.	359°	23′		359°	26′		359°	29′
30.	360°	0′		360°	0′		360°	0′
	Κλίμα Τέταρτον			Κλίμα Πέμπτον			Κλίμα Ἕκτον	
ια	τμη	δ		τμθ	η		τν	ι
ιβ	τμη	μβ		τμθ	μγ		τν	μβ
ιγ	τμθ	κ		τν	ιη		τνα	ιδ
ιδ	τμθ	νη		τν	νγ		τνα	μς
ιε	τν	λς		τνα	κη		τνβ	ιζ
ις	τνα	ιδ		τνβ	κγ		τνβ	μη
ιζ	τνα	νβ		τνβ	λη		τνγ	ιθ
ιη	τνβ	λ		τνγ	ιβ		τνγ	ν
ιθ	τνγ	η		τνγ	μς		τνδ	κα
κ	τνγ	μς		τνδ	κ		τνδ	νβ
κα	τνδ	κβ		τνδ	νδ		τνε	κγ
κβ	τνε	β		τνε	κη		τνε	νδ
κγ	τνε	μ		τνς	β		τνς	κς
κδ	τνς	ιη		τνς	λς		τνς	κς
κε	τνς	νε		τνζ	ι		τνζ	κζ
κς	τνζ	λβ		τνζ	μα		τνζ	νη
κζ	τνη	θ		τνη	ιη		τνη	κθ
κη	τνη	μς		τνη	νβ		τνθ	ο
κθ	τνθ	κγ		τνθ	κς		τνθ	λ
λ	τξ	ο		τξ	ο		τξ	ο

Note: The table is given as it stands in Halma (*op. cit.*, pp. 32, 40, 48), without correction of misprints or other errors.

524. ASTRONOMICAL WORK.

Acquired in 1917. ? Fayûm. 6 × 10·3 cm. Third century.

Fragment of a roll perhaps containing a description of the planets; the columns are separated by vertical lines drawn in red ink and the paragraphs by similar lines drawn horizontally. From the reference to Capricorn in l. 16, Dr. J. G. Smyly suggests that the papyrus gave the positions of the planets on some definite date, for which cf. e.g. Ptolemy, *Almagest* 9, 7 (ed. Heiberg, i, p. 264) and 9, 10 (ib., p. 288). The text is written in a bold, rounded hand, distinctly larger at the beginning of a paragraph than at the end. On the verso, across the fibres, are what may be the ends of two lines, separated by 1·2 cm., in a small cursive hand :] α′ ημερ( ) and]ιτη.

Col. i.

. . . . .

]ε̣λε
Α]φροδει
]
]
]π̣ρωτην
ετυ]γχανεν
]οσεν
μ]οιρων
]ω Διος
]νω α
]ρ̣[.]φ̣ε̣ν
]
]
] . ε̣θ̣α̣ν

. . . .

Col. ii.

. . . . .

Αφ[ροδιτης αστηρ ?
Φωσφ[ορ
πεμπτ[
τυγχαν[
μενος ε[
Αιγοκερ[
τερων λ[
γωνω ι[
τοις αρι[
εωαν δυ̣[σιν ?
[Ερμου αστηρ ?
Στ[ιλβων ?
ζο̣[
κα̣[

. . . .

2. l. Ἀφροδί[τ. 14. τυγ'χαν P.

1.]ε̣λε: the stroke interpreted as the cross-bar of an ε might be merely a dash or part of a symbol.

3. No horizontal red line separates this line from l. 2: hence it is unlikely that the gap was filled with a title or a heading, e.g. Διος αστηρ.

9. If, as Διος suggests, this paragraph gave an account of the planet Jupiter, the next probably dealt with Mars.

14. In the gap before this line, equivalent, as is the gap above, to the space of two lines, there was probably a heading or title—perhaps Αρεως αστηρ.

525. MATHEMATICAL TREATISE.

Acquired in 1917. 11·8 × 11·1 cm. Fourth century.

Top corner of a leaf of a papyrus codex, containing an unknown mathematical work. It is highly probable that a good deal of each line—at least half—has been lost, and the

proportions of the fragment (upper margin 4·5 cm., side margin 5 cm.) suggest that the dimensions of the codex were considerable. The text is written in a small, but broad and rounded hand, not unlike that of the Lysias (**489**); the ink is reddish brown in colour, while corrections (ll. 13 and 19) have been made in black ink by a cursive hand. There are no accents, symbols (apart from the *σ′* in l. 17), or punctuation. The writing on the recto has faded badly and even with the help of a mercury vapour lamp is not readily legible. In the absence of other fragments, the nature of the work cannot be decided.

Recto.

]ε[.]δ̣[.]μ̣ημ̣ατων [. . . . .]
]δ[. .] ποτε̣ ο̣ν τῳ̣ ημ[. . . . .]
]ενω ορθογωνιω ο̣υκ . ε̣ν
] παντα̣ τ̣α̣ γ . . [.]σ̣ε̣[.]θ̣υ̣σ̣[.] .
]ε̣γω απο[. . . . .]ημ̣ι̣σ̣[. . .]
]δετε̣ο̣υ τ̣ο̣υ̣[.] . τ̣ω̣ν̣[. .]ρ̣[.]ε̣
]νοντ̣ω̣[. . . .]ει̣σ̣ε̣ν̣ . [.]
]ν̣τος [. .] π̣λευρα̣[. . . .]ν̣
]λ̣ο̣κνο̣[. .] . [.]ε̣[. . . . . .]
]η̣π̣[
. . . . . .

Verso.

[. .]στ[.]ο̣ιε̣π̣εφου . α[. .] . δ̣[
[. .]ο[.]της πλευρας του οκ[ταγωνου?
[. .]φαιαι ̀έικοτων ο̣τι απο[
[. .] δε α̣ποδος τ̣ο̣ν̣ ελασσ[
[. . α]π̣ο̣δος τουτο ανα γη[ν
[. . .] . εικο̣ν̣[.]νως ουχι [
[. . .] . σ′ σχεδ̣ον γαρ συ[
[. . .]ηται το [α]υ̣τη ακο[λουθον?
[. . . . . .] . δ̀έιζ[
[ ] . [
. . . . . .

1. τ]μημ̣ατων or τ]μημα των, suggested by Dr. J. G. Smyly, is a possible reading; in that case the preceding δ̣ (the base is too straight for it to be an *α*, although *β* is a possibility) might be a numeral.

2. ποτε̣ ε̣ν cannot be read, but the letters are so widely spaced that ποτ ε̣ν might be read.

ημ[ισφαι|ριω] Smyly (who also suggests απο δε του] ημ̣ι̣σ̣[φαι|ριου] in l. 5).

526. MATHEMATICAL FRAGMENT.

Acquired in 1917. ? Fayûm. 2·5 × 7·5 cm. Third century.

Fragment of a mathematical or astronomical table, too small for its purpose to be identified. P. Harr. 60 may be a parallel text. Written in a sloping semi-cursive in black ink; as in **522–524** the lines, both vertical and horizontal, are in red ink, although in l. 6 the writer has slipped and the figures are also written in red ink. A peculiarity of the papyrus is that it consists of three layers of papyrus placed on top of one another instead of two, as is usual, with the result that on both sides the fibres run in the same direction. Another fragment of the same text, perhaps joining on the top of **526**, survives, but is too rubbed for more than two or three figures to be visible. The verso is blank.

]. [		
] . [		
]ε	κδ	
]		
].	ι	λ
]δ	μζ	ι
]β	κε	ω̣
]	κϛ̣	ω
]	κζ	ω .
].	κη	ω .
].		
].	δ̣ϛ̣ε	μη
	κθ	ω

4. These two squares have been left blank, as have those in l. 14.

11. Probably the writer's intention was to leave these squares blank as well, and the stroke reaching up from l. 12 may be no more than a prolongation of the dash above the δ in l. 12. This should indicate a fraction and, as the δ is written partly over the red lines, it may belong to the preceding column; in this case the sign that follows it is more probably the symbol for zero (see above, p. 149) than that for $\frac{2}{5}$.

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527. ASTROLOGICAL TREATISE.

Acquired in 1917. Oxyrhynchus. Frag. (b). 13 × 18·2 cm. Third century.
PLATE 6.

This text is written on the verso of the Sallust (**473**), but in the reverse direction, i.e. the lower margin of the Sallust forms the upper margin of the present work. It is

written in a square and rather heavy hand which, although individual letters resemble those found in second-century texts, gives the impression of being considerably later; the difference in age between this hand and the square, regular script found in codices of the fourth century (e.g. the Lysias, **489**) may not be very great; *υ*, *κ*, and the first down stroke of *η* all reach above the general level of the line, as does *β* which is unusually tall and has a peculiar detached flourish through the lower loop; *ν* is square and broad. There is no punctuation; but a small space is sometimes left after the end of a sentence, and a paragraphus has been placed under l. 99, perhaps to mark the end of the invocation; the diaeresis is occasionally placed over *υ* and *ι*. For the dimensions of the roll see the introduction to **473**. The text itself, apparently a general treatise on astrological principles, is of some interest. In A—the Oxyrhynchus fragment—the writer describes the correlation between the planets in their various positions and the stages of human life. In B, probably separated by a considerable gap from A, he appears to be proving his thesis by reference to animal life; e.g. animals (excluding fish) that live in the water (*ἐν ὑγρᾷ οὐσία*) are found only in certain localities (here the reference to India in l. 65 is of interest), and their existence is determined by the movement of the stars.[1] Arguing *a fortiori* that the same principle must hold true of human life, the writer, without any preparation, then breaks into a quasi-religious invocation, which suggests that the treatise may have been in dialogue form. Soon after this the text fails us; but it appears that in the fragmentary col. iv the writer went in some detail into the geography of Egypt. There is no clue to the identity of the author; the fact that his choice of words can often be paralleled from Vettius Valens may simply be due to their common subject. One fact, however, does emerge from the *παρ' ἡμῖν* of l. 61, that is that the writer was a native of Egypt, which may account for the references to the fauna and geography of that country.

(A) P. Oxy. Inv. s.n.

Col. i.

Frag. (a)

c. 18 letters]ọ
,,]ạι̣
,,]κọυ
,,]ηρης
,,]εν
,,]σε
,,]ω
,,]τ̣ου
,,]δε αλ
,,]μεσ
,,]νε
,,]τα

c. 18 letters]αι
,,]σ̣
,,]ο
,,]υ̣
,,]ης
,,]λ

. . . .

Frag. (b).

. . . .
c. 20 letters] . υη
,,]ωκα̣
,,]υτα
,,] . ον
,,]δ̣ενι

[1] The view that the stars determined the lives of animals no less than of men was ridiculed by the opponents of astrology, in particular by Cicero (*Div.* ii. 47); a *reductio ad absurdum* was not difficult: see Bouché-Leclercq, *L'Astrologie Grecque*, pp. 585 sq.

c. 20 letters]νι
,,]η δυο
. . . .

Col. ii.

Frag. (a).

ζωης και διαμονης το ωρο
σκοπουν και ταυτα μεν ουτως
εχει επει εξ εναντιων συνε
στηκεν το παν και εναλλαξ
παλιν επί των πρεσβυτερων
τα δυνοντα και αρχομενων
μεν ηγειται τα ωροσκοπουν
τα τελουμενων δε τα δυ
νοντα παλιν δ αυ επι του
μεσουρανουντος και αντιμε
σουρανουντος ο αυτος λογο[ς]
ηγειται μεν γαρ το μ[ετεωρον]
ετι νεων οντων ε[πι το θαρ]
σειν και καλως πρασ[σειν το]
δε υπογειον ηγειτ[αι . . . .]
προς το μηδεν απ[εργαζεσ]
θαι και πρασσειν κα[κως . . .]
επι τοσουτον περι τ[ων κυρι]
ων κεντρων ειρησ[θω . . . . . .]
γαρ λογον εχει υδ[*c.* 8]
τι τουτον ἐχει τ[*c.* 9]
ωροσ[κοπ *c.* 15]
ν̣[*c.* 21]
. . . . . .

Frag. (c) and (d).

. . . . .
] . ν̣
]α̣ι
]η και[ ]εκει

40. ὑπογειον P. 45. ὖδ[P.

(B) P. Ryl.

Col. i.

[. . . η] τουτου ζωου φυσι̣[ς]
[. . . . .] κ̣εκρυμμενη αρι
[θμει π]εριοδους και ετι το
[? πικο]ν τουτ εστιν εν Αι
[γυπτω] η και μονη γεινο
[ται το πε]τηνον ο{ν} εκαλε
[σαν την ι]βιν παλιν δ αυ εν υ
[γρα ουσι]α̣ κατα τοπον ιδιαν
[. . . . .] . ορειται οιον ιππος
[ποταμιος ο] παρ ημειν γεινο
[μενος κα]ι̣ ο κροκοδειλος μο
[να ταυτ]α ζωα εν υγρα ὀυσια
[κατοι]κει γενναται δε
[πολλα] ζωα εν τω Κολχικω
[κολπω] της Ι̣νδικης απερ
[φυσιν μ]εικρον αλληλων
[διαφερο]υσιν φωκαι δε αλλα
[. . . . η η ι]χθυων γονη πα
[. . . . . ομ]οιως και επι των
[αλλων ζωω]ν ο αυτος λογος οθεν
[εχει ανα]γκαιως ειδεναι τα
[καθ εκασ]την χωραν κοσμικως
[διατελο]υμενα κατα την των
[αστερω]ν κεινησιν αναλ̣ο
[γως αν]α̣γ̣κη δι̣α̣φερειν και τα
[περι το]ν̣ α̣νθρωπον σον ουν
[εργον] ω πατερ εφη του παντα
[. . . . .]μ̣ενου και παντα πει
[. . . . .] ε̣κδιδαξαι ημας την
[*c.* 12] θ̣εωριαν των
[*c.* 12 κ]α̣ι παραδο
[υναι ημιν τοις ι]ερευσιν τε
[*c.* 13]οις μετατι̣
[*c.* 14]νοις ουδ[ε]
. . . . . .

Col. ii.

και π̣α̣λ̣αι̣ νουν [*c.* 8]
αυτων μερο[*c.* 11]
αυτον αριθμ̣[*c.* 10]
ανατολας οικ[ουντας και]
τους προς εσ[περαν κατοι]
κουντας και π̣[ρος μεσημβρι]

αν και αρκτο̣[ν c. 9]
καταδυσιν κα̣[c. 9]
νοησον του[c. 11]
95 πους και τους [c. 9]
δοτε τους αρ̣[κτικους η μεσημ]
βρινους [c. 13]
αλλων εστ̣[c. 12]
φης ομοιω[ς c. 11]
100 Αιγυπτον δια̣[c. 9]
ανωθεν ορι[α και την Αιθιο]

πιαν και [c. 13]
ου αχρι̣ τ[c. 13]
σης πολεως [. . . ? Βερενικης]
105 Ορμον αι[. . . . . μεσου]
ρανηματ[. . . . . Αιγυ]
πτου ε̣ν η [. . . . . προ]
θεσμια κα̣[ι c. 11]
γραμματα [c. 12]
110 αγα̣θου ν[c. 13]
. . . . .

55. τουτ' εστιν P. 56 sic: l. γείνε. 58. εν ϋ P. 59. l. ἴδιον. 60. ἵππος P. 61. l. ἡμῖν. 63. ὕγρα P. 67. l. μικρὸν. 75. l. κίνησιν.

ll. 26–44: '(In the case of younger people) the ascendant position (controls) life and continuance—and this is so since the whole is compounded of opposites—and by alternation in the case of older people it is the points of decline that are decisive. The ascendant points are dominant over things in their beginning, the points of decline over things near their end. Again the same holds good of the point of zenith and the point of nadir. For the point of zenith leads men when they are young to confidence and success whereas the point of nadir leads . . . to ineffectiveness and failure. So much, then, for the cardinal points . . .'

ll. 52–83: 'The nature of this animal is a mystery; it calculates the period of time, and further this creature is native to Egypt, where alone exists the winged creature which they call the ibis. Then again in damp habitats (are found animals) such as the hippopotamus which exists among us and the crocodile. These are the only animals that live in a damp habitat. Then there are many animals that breed in the Colchian gulf in India which in their nature differ little from one another. But seals are . . . different from the race of fishes. The same argument applies to other creatures; hence it is essential to know the effects produced by cosmic causes in each country in accordance with the movements of the planets. Similarly there are necessarily differences in human affairs. "Therefore it is thy task", said he, "O Father of that which (governs) all . . . to instruct us in the . . . theory of . . . and to hand down to . . . thy priests . . ."'

19 sqq. The position of this fragment is not certain, but this seems to be the most likely position for it.

26. *το ωροσκοπουν*, sc. *κεντρον*. The *κέντρα* are the four cardinal points or positions in the heavens through which the planets determining human life pass (in general, see Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, pp. 257 sq.); the four are the zenith (*μεσουρανοῦν κέντρον* or *μεσουράνημα*), the nadir (*ἀντιμεσουρανοῦν* or *ὑπόγειον κέντρον*), and the two intermediate, the *ὡροσκοποῦν κέντρον* in the ascent and the *δύνον* or *δυτικόν* in the descent (for the last see Vettius Valens, 75. 24 (ed. Kroll) *κάκιον δὲ γίγνεται ἐὰν ἐπὶ τὸ δυτικὸν ἢ ὑπόγειον γίνηται τὸ σχῆμα*; elsewhere he uses *τὸ δύνον κέντρον*, e.g. 74. 25; 94. 26), cf. P. Mich. III, 149, ix. 12: *κέντρα δὲ λέγεται ὡροσκόποι μεσουράνημα δύσις ὑπὸ γῆν*. The plural is used in this text (below, ll. 31, 32) to express the various planets at the point of ascent or decline. For the influence of the *ὡροσκοποῦν* (-*ος*) cf. P. Mich. III, 149, ix. 21 *ἀπὸ τοῦ ὡροσκόπου τὰ περὶ ζωῆς ζητεῖται*.

27. *και ταυτα κτλ*. This clause, down to *το παν*, is a parenthesis, the argument being picked up again with *και εναλλαξ*. For a similar expression of the theory of opposites, introduced into Greek thought by Anaximander (see Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*, p. 56), cf. the statement attributed to Pherecydes (Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*,[3] ii, p. 203): *ὁ Φερεκύδης ἔλεγεν εἰς Ἔρωτα μεταβεβλῆσθαι τὸν Διὰ μέλλοντα δημιουργεῖν, ὅτι δὴ τὸν κόσμον ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων συνιστὰς εἰς ὁμολογίαν καὶ φιλίαν ἤγαγε*.

29. *ἐναλλάξ* occurs frequently in Vettius Valens.

37. At the end of this line a word is required to denote the position of a planet at the zenith. The *terminus technicus* is *μεσουράνημα*, but this is too long for the space. Another word also used by Vettius Valens is *ὑπέργειος* (e.g. 141. 19) which suggests that *μ[ετεωρον]* or *μ[εταρσιον]* might be read here.

42. The end of this line may have been left blank at the conclusion of the sentence.

43. *τα κυρια κεντρα* seems a natural expression for the cardinal points; *τεσσαρων*, which might be expected, cannot be read, as it would involve a false break *τεσσαρ|ων*.

49 sq. These two fragments, which contain on one side the bottom of a column of the Greek, on the other the top of a column of the Latin text, belong to a column not otherwise represented; the relative position of the two texts makes it impossible for them to be placed either in col. i or ii.

51. Beneath both frag. (c) and frag. (d) part of the lower margin survives; but the two pieces do not directly connect, so that the position in the line of frag. (d) is uncertain.

52. The bird described in these lines is clearly the phoenix.

53–55. The wording of this sentence is clumsy and the expression inconsequent; it reads like an abbreviation of a fuller text. While I do not feel any confidence in the restoration given above, it is hard to see what can be suggested except some form of *ἀριθμεῖν*. In the next line the restoration is still more doubtful. Unless *τουτ εστιν* is a limiting phrase, 'that is to say, in Egypt', which would leave little space for the sentence so defined, *τουτ'* must refer to *ζωον*. *τοπικον* is suspect because we should expect there to be five, or even six, letters in the gap. For the sense cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 28 *ceterum aspici aliquando in Aegypto eam volucrem* [i.e. the phoenix] *non ambigitur*.

57. Ἶβις is always feminine, so that the *ον* cannot be explained as a case of attraction to a following *τον*. The writing is careless all through this passage; cf. *γεινο* (sic) in l. 56 and *ιδιαν* (probably for *ιδιον*) in l. 59.

59. *ουσια*: cf. l. 63. The dictionaries cite no parallel to this use of *οὐσία* = habitat.

60.]. *ορειται*. The letter before the *ο* can hardly be anything except a *κ*, *π*, or possibly a *σ*. Some compound of *-σπορειν* would seem to be indicated, but I can find none giving the required sense. Nor can *εὐπορεῖται* = *are found in abundance*, even if the statement were true.

65. Κολχικὸς *κόλπος* was the ancient name for the Gulf of Manar at the south-east extremity of India; the town, or mart, of Κόλχοι was known to the Greeks for its pearl fisheries. Apart from this text, there appear to be no references to the place except in the geographers, cf. *RE*, xi. 1, 1070–71.

69. *γονη* should perhaps be read *γονῇ*, i. e. *organs*, or *methods*, *of generation* rather than *race*, *tribe*: on the distinction between fishes and seals in this respect cf. Aristotle, *H. A.* (ed. Bekker), *ϵ* 2. 540ª 23; *ζ* 12. 567ª 2.

73. *κοσμικως*. The adverb, rare in other authors, occurs several times in Vettius Valens.

77. The abandonment of exposition for an invocation and the introduction of an interlocutor (*ϵφη*, l. 78) is very sudden and does not seem to have been prepared for by anything in the preceding paragraph. The word *πατήρ* suggests that we meet here the idea that the learner stands to the teacher or adept in the relation of son to father; this idea is common in contemporary religious literature, cf. Reitzenstein, *Hellenistische Mysterienreligionen*³, p. 40 (who points out that *πατήρ* was a title in the Isis cult), and Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, pp. 52, 146, 151. But it might suit the context better to refer *πατήρ* to a god, in which case there are parallels in the Hermetica (cf. the index to W. Scott's edition). I am indebted to Prof. Campbell Bonner for this note. It is likely (cf. *νοησον* in l. 94 and *-δοτϵ* in l. 96) that the invocation extended into the next column; very probably it ended at the conclusion of the paragraph in l. 99 with *-φης*.

85. The position of the Latin text on the recto makes it clear that this line is not the last of the column.

86. Certainly not *παραινουν*[*τ* . . . . .

96. Perhaps *καὶ μεσημ*]; but the line is long as it is.

528. ASTROLOGICAL WORK.

Acquired in 1917. 4·7 × 12·3 cm. Second to third century. PLATE 6.

Right-hand side of a column containing part of 28 lines, rather closely packed, written along the fibres in a small rounded book-hand of the later second or early third century A.D. (cf. Schubart, *Pap. Graec. Berol.* 31). There are no accents or punctuation marks; the verso is blank. If the supplement in l. 13 is correct there were 19 to 20 letters to the line. To judge from the vocabulary, the work was astrological or magical in character.

. . . . . .
[ ]ν τριγ[ω]
[ν]ω ωρ̣[ο]
[σκοπ?]ον δο̣
[ ]ι̣ διο
[ ]ων
[ ]ηλ̣ε̣σε
[ ]ς̣ η μεριs
[ ]τ̣os ηλιο
[π]ρ̣ωτos παν
[ ] . ρχει των εξω
[ ] . το δε τ[.] . ω διο
[ ]κos απο του με
[? σουρανη]ματos εν τοις ε
[ ] μ̣ερεσιν του κοσ
[μου] . αι και κυριευει
[ ]ρ̣ως εσχατων
[ ]α̣ι̣ πασης γενε
[σεως α]π̣ο τουτο̣υ διαμε
[ ]υ̣ν παρο̣πτεσας
[ ]τ̣ων δε . . ι̣ν̣ε̣ .
[ ]ε̣αν μεγε̣[. .]α̣τ̣α
[ ]ε̣ρωσιν ε̣τ̣ι̣ τ̣α̣λ̣
[ ] . και η τυχη
[ ] . τον ωροσ
[κοπον]τ̣ης αγαθης τυ
[χης]ς̣ παρην
[π]ρ̣os των
[ ]ι αστερω̣ν

7. *μέρις* is found in astrological texts, e.g. in P. Mich. III, 149, iii. 25, in connexion with the moon (cf. *σε-* in the preceding line); but *ε]φημερις* would be an equally possible reading here.

10. The first letter in this line looks like a *υ*, but no verb ending in *-υρχω* is known; *α* cannot be read.

18. Perhaps *α]πο τουτου διαμε[τρου* or *διαμε[τρειν*.

19. *παροπτεσας*: presumably for *παροπτήσας*.

529. TREATISE ON SURGERY.

Acquired in 1920. 15 × 26 cm. Third century.
PLATE 7.

Part of a leaf of a codex with two columns to a page; the leaf is badly torn and neither column is intact. The codex was of considerable size, and the writing closely packed with 50 lines to the column on the recto and on the verso. The average length of

a line is 6 cm.; the average number of letters twenty. The lower margin is 4 cm. deep, and a page of text measures 21 × 13 cm. The hand, close to that of the Chester Beatty *Gospels and Acts*, is a small, angular and slanting book-hand of the type common in the middle and later third century. There are no accents, lectional signs or punctuation, except the diaeresis; corrections or additions are by the original hand. The surface of the papyrus is badly rubbed in places, thus adding to the difficulty of interpreting an already fragmentary text.

The text appears to contain instructions as to the method of treating an injury to the shoulder—a compound fracture with dislocation and separation of the acromion. Dr. E. T. Withington, to whose assistance I am much indebted, writes: 'It seems to be an account of apparatus required and methods to be used in treating a severe joint injury—a general smash-up of the shoulder-joint being taken as a sample, as Hippocrates does in his treatise on joints in the case of simple dislocation. The language seems very like that of the fragments of Heliodorus (1st/2nd cent. A.D.) quoted in Oribasius, although the largest verbal correspondence I can find is Orib. 49. 30. 18: *μετὰ δὲ τὴν αὐτάρκη τάσιν* [cf. l. 90].' In another letter Dr. Withington writes that 'the account of the treatment itself is obscure... but I come nearest to certainty in concluding that this text is not to be found in any Greek medical writer extant or in print'. Several new words occur—*ἀπεξαρθρεῖν*, *χαιμαφάριον*, *πρίζη*—but there is no certain clue to the authorship of this treatise. The writer refers to himself in the first person (ll. 58, 69) and alludes to another of his works, the *τεχνικὸς λόγος* (l. 59). To judge from the size of the page and the closeness of the writing, the treatise was probably of considerable extent. There is nothing to prove that recto precedes verso; but it seems probable, as recto column i begins with an account of things required (cf. Hippocrates, *περὶ ἄρθρων*, 36).

Recto.

Col. i.

[. .] τωδε και ρειν ν̣ε̣[.] . [.]
[. .]ε̣ προς την των οξειδ[ι]
[ων] ο̣ρ̣π̣η . σιν συν δε το̣[υ]
τοις ητοι σ̣[.]λ̣ε̣ο̣ς και ο κ̣εφα
λικος σ . [.] . προς ενια γα̣ρ τῳ̣[ν]
οστων ν̣ . α . . ε̣θ̣ε̣[.]ν απ[ο]
πρι̣ε̣ιν ουκ εστιν επιτηδε̣ι̣α
ε̣χ̣[ο]ν̣τ̣ος εκκοπην προε
μει̣ν̣ τα εργα οφειλει ταυ
τα ετοιμαζεσθαι προς δε
τ̣η̣ς α̣ρ̣χ̣ης επιμελειαν
θερμια εστω εν ετοιμω{ν̣}
χαιμαφαρι̣ο̣ν μ̣[ε]᾽λ̣[ι]᾽φυ̣λ̣λ̣[ο]ν
οξος οινος ελαιον μελικρα-
τ̣ο̣ν παντα τουτοις αναλογα
κ̣αι αναλογιαν των συν . . . η
με̣[ν]ων και της περι τα γο

ν̣α̣τα διαθεσεως η αναλο
[γος] θ̣[ε]ρ̣απεια δοκιμασθη
αυταρκως κ[. .] . . . των επι
ν̣ι̣ω . [. . . . . εντ]ειλαμενο̣[ι]
ηδη βα[. . . . .]ν περι των
μ̣ατ . . χ[c. 14]

(gap of 6 lines.)

[c. 18]ης
[c. 16]νεμο
[c. 15]ω̣νετα
[c. 15] . ν γαρ
[c. 14]ς οτι το
[c. 14] π̣ο̣τον ε
[c. 11]ν συνεχως ε
[c. 11] απεξαρθρει
[. . . . . σπ]ανιως δε εισ
[ω τ]η̣[ν μασ]χ̣αλην η δε αιτια
[εσ]τιν αυτη τ᾽ο τραυμα αιει γι

νεται η υπ αυτου ˋτουˊ οστεου εν
δο̣θε̣ν ερεισ̣[θε]ν̣τος και α
π̣ο̣γι̣γν̣ο̣μ̣ε̣ν̣ο̣υ̣ ασκεπον
τ̣[.] . χ̣[.]αυ̣ . . . . ο̣τινω̣ . .
ξα̣ι̣ε̣ν αιτιου κατα αμ
φοτερα δε̣ ευλογον εστι[ν]
την εξω διαφορα̣ν συνεχω̣ς
[. . . . .]ε̣σ̣θαι σπανιω̣ς δε
[την ει]ς̣ τ̣ην μασχαλην τα
γαρ εξω σωματα περιτενη

Col. ii.

(First 13 lines missing.)

. [*c.* 19]
χ̣ε̣[*c.* 18]
τω̣ . [*c.* 17]
τραυμα ε̣υ̣ . ν̣[*c.* 10]
[.]ι καταλαμβανεσθαι τι
να τουτων απαγορευσιν
δει και τινα καταρ̣τ̣[ισιν]
και τινα πριζην δεδηλω
κα εν τω τεχνικω λογω ω̣ν
προεγνωσμενων καιρος

Col. i.

(First 14 lines missing.)

[*c.* 19]α̣κ̣α̣
[*c.* 20] . .
[*c.* 14] . κ̣ [. . .]α̣τ̣ε̣
[*c.* 10]τ̣ι̣ τ̣ρ̣αυματα̣ . .
[. .] . η̣ματων ειρημεναι μαλ
λο̣ν̣ δε νυν ευθετει το κατα
κρατη[σι]ν̣ και̣ κατατασιν ε
νεργημα μετα δε την αυ
ταρκη τασιν οι δακτυλοι κα
θιεσθωσαν επι το τραυμα
και δι αυτων εκ του παρα
[φυ]σιν τοπου εις το κατα φυ
[σιν] μεταγεσθω το κωλον α
[. . .] . κατα μερη τα προς το α̣
[. . . . . α]ντιμεταγομενον
ηδη διδαξαι πως οφειλει
καταρτιζεσθαι τα προς κα
ταρτισμον επιτηδειως [εχον]
τα και πως πριζεσθα̣[ι τα]
προς πρισιν επι των ˋπροςˊ κα̣[ταρ]
τισμον ⟨μη⟩ οικειως ε̣[χοντων οι]
μεν αλλοι κατ̣ε̣[. . . . . .]
ωσαν τον καμ̣[νοντα] σ̣χ̣η
ματιζειν ημει[ς δε . . . . .]
κεκλιμενο[[.]]ˋνˊ το Α̣λ̣[εξα̣ν]
δριον σχημα εστιν δυ[σαλ]
γεστατον το δε κεκλ[ιμε]
νον ασφαλεστερον α[σφα]
λεστερον δε οτε με[ν υπτι]
ον σχηματιζειν τον [πασ]
χοντα οτε δε πρηνη̣ υ̣[πτι]
ον μεν επι της εξωτ[ερω]
μασχαλης [.]η . [. . . . . .]
διαφορας πρηνι̣[η δε . . . . .]
οπισω και μετα τ̣[ον καταρ]
τισμον προς τ̣ο̣[. . . . . .]
[. . . . . .] . . . . [. . . . . .]

(Last five lines missing.)

Verso.

[. . . . . ε]πιτηδειος . . ε̣π̣ι̣α
[. . . . . .]βιβαζει το τοις
[. . . .]τ̣υ̣[. . .] ε̣υ̣τονωτερα ον
[. .]ο̣[. . .]αδ̣[. . .]ω̣μενα ενερ
[γημ]α̣τ̣α̣ επι των χωρις τραυ
[ματω]ν̣ [. . .] . . η[. .]ν̣των παρα
[. . . .] . [.]ν[.] . ν̣δε και μαλλον
[. . . . . .] ε̣ις την μασχαλην
[. . . . . .]ας κεκρυπται γαρ ε̣
[. . . . . .]τ̣α̣ι̣ α̣υ̣χ̣ε̣ν̣α̣ δια των
[. . . . . .] . . [.]α̣γωγη̣ του
[. . . . . .]ου γαρ συναι
[νειν τ]ο̣[ι]ς̣ οργανικοις χρη
[. . . . . .]υ̣[.]ισ̣ . τ̣ωτε̣ι . .
[. . . . . .]ε̣[. . . .] . [.]λ̣[. . . .

(gap of 3 lines.)

[*c.* 17]θ̣ο̣ν̣

Col. ii.

[. π]ρος της καμπης [. . . . . .]
τῆς [κε]φαλης του βρα[χιονο]ς
τα[σ]σων ινα γ[αρ] εκ της [επε]
ρεισεως βια καταγη θε̣ι̣[. .] . ε
κον ετερον δε ατοπον ε̣κ του
ενεργηματος τουτου ανα
δι̣ . [.]ι̣[.] το του ακρωμιου απο
στημα χρη τοιγαρουν τη̣ν
μεν δια των μοχλων ενερ
γειαν παραπεμπειν τα δε
ειρημενα εργα προς την
του εκπαλου οστεου κατατα
γη̣ν αιρεισθαι διδαξας πως
δει καταρτιζειν τον α̣υ̣[τ]ο̣ν
συν τραυματι ολισθημ̣[α᾽τ]ων᾽ [ε]π̣ο
μενως υποδειξαντα ε̣ . . [.
[.]α̣[.] τον της πρισεως τροπον
. [. .]των προς πρ[ι]σιν επιτη
[δειως ε]χοντων οστων προ
τῆς πρ̣[ισ]εως εξεταζειν δει
[. . .]εχι[. . . .] . [.] . [. .] . [. . .]ο
[.] . η[. . . . . .] . ιο̣λον δια

[c. 11] . [. .] . θηκοσ
[c. 15] . [. . . .]

(Gap of 5 lines.)

αι̣ρη . [c. 15]
νητα̣ις . [c. 13]
δει επ[.] . [c. 13]
τραυμα̣[c. 14]
λημ . ᾽α̣᾽ . υ̣[c. 14]
παρ̣ . [. . .] . [c. 12]
. ε̣ινανα[c. 13]
οτε υπε̣ρου [c. 11]
σφιγγεται το πρ̣[ιζομενον]
οστεον χαλασ̣α̣[ι]τ̣[. .] . [. . .]
μενου τοις δακ[τ]υλ[ο]ις ε̣ξελ̣
κεσθω το μελλο[ν] π̣ρι̣ζ̣ε̣σθαι
οστεον ες τ̣α τοτε̣ . . τ̣ . ν̣ω
ανα την εσθητ̣α . [. . . .]κ̣
. [.]σ . . ατ̣οιη . . υπ[. . . . . .]
[. . .]ε̣ν̣αφε̣ν̣ αρχης εκπρι̣[σ]
[μα] μ̣αλλ̣[ο]ν̣ γεινεσθαι δει δε
αγγι̣ου εν . [.]ειν̣ε̣ν̣[. .]θ̣ . . ε̣τ̣ε̣
τ̣αιν[ι]α καθελε̣[ι]ν̣ ε[. .] ᾽.᾽ν̣ δε̣ι̣ η τη

43. l. *ἀσκέπου.* 119. *ἵνα* P. 153. *υπερου* P. 163. l. *ἀγγείου.*

TRANSLATION.

5 sqq.: 'For in the case of some bones . . . it is not advisable for (?) a patient undergoing an excision to vomit beforehand. These are the applications which ought to be had in readiness. For the initial treatment let warm preparations be in readiness, . . . balm, vinegar, wine, olive oil, honey mixed with water, everything similar to these . . . and for a (similar) condition of the knees let an equivalent treatment be tried . . .'

38 sqq.: 'but rarely in the case of the armpit. The reason is this: the wound is always caused either by the actual bone being thrust within and becoming (?) detached and unprotected . . . In both cases it is advisable to . . . continuously the outer dislocation, but only occasionally the dislocation within the armpit. For the outer parts are distended . . .'

55 sqq.: 'What then are the means of prevention in these cases, what the method of setting and what of cutting off [the bone], I have set out in the *Practical Treatise*. When this has been learnt it is time to give instruction in the method of setting those bones which allow of being set and in the method of cutting off those that need to be removed, in cases where the conditions are unfavourable for setting. Other authorities (advise) that the patient be disposed in a . . . position, but we prefer the recumbent position. The Alexandrian disposition is the most painful, the recumbent position the safer. It is safer to place the patient at times on his back, at times on his face . . .'

87 sqq.: 'But now the more convenient way to handle (the bone) is by holding it firmly and stretching it. After the automatic extension of the bone let the fingers be lowered to the wound and through them let the limb be moved back from its abnormal position (?) to the normal position . . .'

121 sqq.: 'There is another peculiarity. As a result of this operation the dislocation of the acromion (? is reduced). Consequently it is necessary both to convey the motion caused by the levers and to select the

aforementioned instruments for the reduction of a dislocated bone. Having given instructions as to the correct manner of setting a dislocated bone with wound . . .'

2. οξειδ[ιων]. The uncertainty of the reading in the next line makes it doubtful whether ων should be placed in 2 or 3.

12. A line, or perhaps another letter, seems to have been made above the superfluous ν at the end of the line.

13. χαιμαφαρ̣ι̣ον: *Addendum lexicis.* I can find no clue to the meaning of this word, unless it be another new word κεμοράφανος which occurs several times in an unpublished account of the early fourth century in the Rylands collection; this is probably to be connected with ῥάφανος, *radish*, and in the present passage some kind of oil may be meant.

16. Perhaps και should be corrected to κατα.

37. απεξαρθρει: *Addendum lexicis.* A stronger form of ἐξαρθρεῖν, *to dislocate.*

43. ἄσκεπος (or -ης) does not appear to be used by the medical writers.

56. απαγορευσιν is puzzling. The meaning *exhaustion* does not suit the context: whether *prevention* is legitimate is doubtful. The sense might be *which need prohibition*, i.e. those cases which are not to be dealt with at all.

The whole sentence would be easier could we assume that the writer has mistakenly placed accusatives instead of genitives after δει, i.e. *to understand which of these cases need*, etc.; but the general accuracy of the text does not allow of this.

58. πριζην: *Addendum lexicis.*

59. τεχνικὸς λόγος might be translated either (*a*) *systematic treatise* (but this would apparently apply equally to the present work); or (*b*) *practical handbook.* Greek usage would allow of either; perhaps (*b*) is preferable.

66. The addition of μή seems essential to make sense of the sentence.

70. Αλεξανδριον σχημα: Dr. Withington suggests that this may be similar to the Thessalian straight-backed chair used for dislocations and mentioned in Hippocrates (περὶ ἄρθρων, 7).

87. The letter before ηματων might well be τ: αποστηματων (cf. l. 123) would be the obvious supplement were it not that the traces in l. 18 do not suit απο and it is doubtful in any case if there is room for three letters.

89. ενεργημα does not appear to be used by medical writers, though ἐνέργεια (in a different sense) is.

94. Either σχῆμα should be understood with το κατα φυσιν or else (perhaps more probably) we should read το⟨ν⟩, sc. τόπον. Dr. Withington has pointed out that the παρὰ φύσιν . . . κατὰ φύσιν contrast is used by Heliodorus, though not quite in the same context, in the chapter of Oribasius (49. 30. 13) already quoted.

123. αποστημα, 'dislocation'. ἀπόσπασμα would be more in accordance with medical usage.

128. ἐκπαλής is the only form given in the new Liddell & Scott: perhaps εκπαλου⟨ς⟩ should be read, but cf. ασκεπον, l. 43.

131. Crönert has pointed out (*APF.* ii. 476) that the use of participial adverbs such as ἑπομένως is characteristic of the style of Heliodorus.

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530. MEDICAL APHORISMS.

Acquired in 1917. Frag. (a). 6·8 × 13 cm. Third century.

Three fragments of a codex containing medical aphorisms on a variety of topics. A number of them (see the notes) are already known from the Ἀφορισμοί of Hippocrates, but the order in which they appear, and occasionally the form, is different. Others I have been unable to identify; but it is certain that they are not all Hippocratean. There is no trace of 'Ionic' forms in the language. The text is written continuously, one maxim being

separated from the next by a short forked line. The fragments do not appear to touch, and may not come from the same leaf; none of them gives us a complete line, which must have contained about fifty letters. The papyrus—originally of a poor quality—is badly damaged; on the recto large parts of the surface have flaked off. The text is written in a slightly sloping, bold hand of the third century, but early rather than late in that century, which has also added omitted passages above the line.

Frag. (a).

Recto.

] . . κ̣ω̣τ̣α̣χ̣[. .]ου . θ̣ . . [
] · χ̣ · [. . . .]ικ̣ο̣υ̣[
] . τ̣εοα̣ . ν̣[. .] . σ̣ι̣η̣ρ̣ . [
]ν̣τ̣ι̣ ν̣υ̣ν̣ ρ̣ε̣ι̣[
. .]ν̣ π̣η̣ρ̣αλ̣ο̣ . . [
] . ξ̣ονται >—— τα ε[πιληπτικα
] π̣ο̣τ̣ε̣ τ̣ο̣υ̣ οφι . [
μ]εταστασιν ισχει [
σ]υ̣ν̣α̣π̣ο̣θ̣[ν]η̣σ̣κουσ̣[ιν] ηβης [
] φησιν μεταβολ[. . . .] . ι . [
] . ε̣α̣[. . . . .] . εα . [. . . . .]αρ̣α̣[
ε]χ̣ο̣μ̣ε̣ν̣ο̣ν̣ ι̣[. . .] . . . επισ̣[
]α̣ . . [. .] π̣[. . . .] . [. . . . .]κ̣ . [
]ε . τ̣εις εμποι[
γ]ι̣ν̣ο̣ν̣τ̣αι ηλικιαις μ[αλιστα
τριηκον]τ̣α̣ π̣εντε >—— τα[.]ρ̣ε̣ . σ̣[
]α̣σ̣ . . τ̣ . α̣ . [.]σ̣ι̣[.]ο̣ π̣ρωτ̣ο̣[
]ν̣[.]ο . [. . . . .] . εκ . [
] . π̣ν̣[ ] σ̣η̣ν̣ [
]ν̣[. . .] . π̣
[ ]
] >—— [
] . [
. . . .

Verso.

λιποθυ]μ̣ι̣α̣ς̣ τ̣αυτα [οι]ς θανατος [
μελα]σ̣μ̣ο̣υ̣ς̣ ριγη π[υ]ρ̣ετωδη [
]τ̣αι ε . . οις καταβ̣[.]ψαι τα [
παρα]σκευασαι γνωμης̣ . α̣ρ̣ . ο̣[
λι]ποθυμιαν επιστησα[ι] αξ̣[
σ]υνεχεις χρησ̣ε̣ις̣ [.]τ̣α̣[.] . τ̣[
]ρ̣οντρεο̣υ̣ >—— τ[. .]λ̣ . [
εγ]κεφαλω μηνιγγα̣ς̣ [. .]τ̣ι̣δ̣[
] . αρισ[τ]ον μ̣ε̣ν̣ . σ[.] . τ̣ω̣ . [

μ]ελλει >—— ε̣δ̣[. . ε]σ̣τιν [
]ρ̣[. . .] . και συμφορο[
] . ι̣ με̣[τ]α̣ του σωματος̣ [
αιμορρ]α̣γιαν εστιν προσδοκ[
δ]ε̣ρμα πε[ρι]σ̣κλ̣ηρ̣υ̣ν̣ε̣ι̣. . [
πυ]ρε̣τ̣ω̣δη̣ [σ]π̣α̣σμους ε[
? ελκε]ο̣ς̣ ευ̣σ̣αρκ̣ου θ[ε]ρ̣[ους ?
θερ]μ̣ης ποιε̣[ι]τ̣α̣[ι
]επιχε[
]σιπη[
] . [

. . . .

Frag. (b).

Recto.

. . . .
] . ν [
]ν̣τ̣ας α[
]υ̣στε[.]α̣ [
]π̣ο̣ . [
] . . χ [
] . . η[
] . . . ο̣φ̣[. . . .]εω[
] ι [. . . . .]ρ̣ . σκ[
]ης α̣[. .]α̣[. . .]α . α̣π̣[
]τουτοις εκ[
] εκ του πλει[σ]τ̣[
]ε̣φερον̣[. . .] . [
]ε[.]οις διαρ̣ροια ε . [
εχο]μ̣ενω δι[αρ]ροια επι[γενομενη
δια]ρροια σ̣υντ̣ο̣μ̣[ω]ς δηλ[
]ω̣ν[.]ται π̣[
]υ̣ητ[

. . . .

Verso.

. . . .
] . α̣ρ̣[. . . .]νοντα[
]π̣υ̣ρ̣ε[. .]ε̣σ[
]τ̣οψ . νε . . τ̣ . τ̣ε̣[
]ε̣ιν επ[.] . εστιν γ[
]μ̣η εκτ̣[ο]ς του φ̣ . [
]παντο̣τ̣[.] το̣υ̣το
το]ις ευσα[ρ]κοις και [
εκπυη]τ̣ι̣κον >—— ου[κ
ασφ]αλια[ν] δερμα μ̣[α]λ̣α[σσει
ριγεω]ν σ̣παο̣[μων] τ̣ε̣τ̣α[νω]ν [
]ει̣ς δε δ̣[ι]α̣φερει οσ[τεων
εψιλωμε]νοις το[υτ]ων δε μα̣[λιστα
ψ]υξεως θν[ησ]κ̣ει η ελ̣[κουται
ε]δ̣ρε η αιδ[οιω
δ]ε̣ [θ̣]ε̣ρμ̣[ον

. . . .

Frag. (c).

Recto.

. . .
] . . α̣[
] . . . . [
] . τοι[
] . . . . [
] . υ̣π̣α̣[
]ε̣[
]τ̣ι̣ο̣[

Verso.

. . .
]θερχ[
]ρο . . α̣[
]ουδε[
]νειριπ̣[
]ωντο[
]τι ει̣ ο̣ δο̣[
]κπ̣ν̣[
] . ν̣ο̣[

69 l. ἕδρᾳ.

4. The *τα ϵ[* written above this line, and continued in ll. 5 and 6 (l. 4 itself is part of the preceding aphorism), appears to be the beginning of *Aph.* v. 7 *τὰ ἐπιληπτικὰ ὁκόσοισι πρὸ τῆς ἥβης γίνεται, μετάστασιν ἴσχει· ὁκόσοισι δὲ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτέων γίνεται, τά πολλὰ συναποθνῄσκει,* though in l. 6 the text of the papyrus diverges. Before *τα ϵ[, γίνονται* the concluding word of *Aph.* v. 6 cannot be read.

12–13. = *Aph.* v. 9 (the words are in a different order) *φθίσιες γίνονται μάλιστα ἡλικίῃσι τῇσιν ἀπὸ ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἐτέων μέχρι τριήκοντα πέντε.*

21–2. = *Aph.* v. 16–17 *τὸ θερμὸν βλάπτει ταῦτα πλεονάκις χρεομένοισι, σαρκῶν ἐκθήλυνσιν . . . λειποθυμίας, ταῦτα οἷσι θάνατος.* (17) *τὸ δὲ ψυχρόν, σπάσμους, τετάνους, μελασμούς, ῥίγεα πυρετώδεα.*

30. *Aph.* v. 19 also ends with *μέλλει*; but l. 29 does not suit this context.

34–5. Probably a slightly different form of *Aph.* v. 20 *ἕλκεσι τὸ μὲν ψυχρὸν δακνώδες, δέρμα περισκληρύνει, ὀδύνην ἀνεκπύητον ποιεῖ, μελαίνει ῥίγεα πυρετώδεα, σπασμούς, τετάνους.* *ὀδύνην* cannot be read in the papyrus.

36–7. Perhaps a version of *Aph.* v. 21 *ἔστι δὲ ὅκου ἐπὶ τετάνου ἄνευ ἕλκεος νέῳ εὐσάρκῳ, θέρεος μέσου, ψυχροῦ πολλοῦ κατάχυσις ἐπαάκλησιν θέρμης ποιεῖται· θέρμη δὲ ταῦτα ῥύεται.*

53. Cf. e.g. *Aph.* vi. 16 *ὑπὸ πλευρίτιδος ἢ περιπλευμόνιης ἐχομένῳ διαρροία ἐπιγενομένη, κακόν.*

63–70. *Aph.* v. 22 (in the papyrus the paragraphus is misplaced) *τὸ θερμὸν ἐκπυητικόν, οὐκ ἐπὶ παντὶ ἕλκει, μέγιστον σημεῖον ἐς ἀσφαλείην, δέρμα μαλάσσει, ἰσχναίνει, ἀνώδυνον, ῥιγέων, σπασμῶν, τετάνων παρηγορικόν· τῶν δὲ ἐν κεφαλῇ καρηβαρίην λύει· πλεῖστον δὲ διαφέρει ὀστέων κατήγμασι, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖσι ἐψιλωμένοισι, τούτων δὲ μάλιστα, τοῖσιν ἐν κεφαλῇ ἕλκεα ἔχουσι· καὶ ὁκόσα ὑπὸ ψύξιος θνῄσκει, ἢ ἑλκοῦται, καὶ ἕρπησιν ἐσθιομένοισιν, ἕδρῃ, αἰδοίῳ, ὑστέρῃ, κύστει, τούτοισι τὸ θερμὸν φίλιον καὶ κρῖνον, τὸ δὲ ψυχρὸν πολέμιον καὶ κτεῖνον.* The last two clauses have changed places in the papyrus.

531. MEDICAL RECEIPTS.

Acquired in 1920. 21·5 × 8·4 cm. Third to second century B.C. PLATE 8.

This strip from the upper part of a roll contains on the recto the final words of one column, a second column complete in breadth, and about half of a third column. The lines are remarkably long (cf. Schubart, *Das Buch*[2], pp. 64–5), and a column of text, excluding the initial words of the paragraphs, measures 12 cm. in breadth. The hand is cramped and angular and, if hardly beautiful, has a decided character of its own; the most notable letters are the *υ* with its long sweep below the line and the *ν* with its first hasta reaching considerably lower than the second. In general, it has an archaic appearance, although some letters, e.g. the *ω* and the *α*, do not suggest a very early date, and a resemblance to P. Hib. 27 may be noted, although the latter is considerably freer; I should assign it to the end of the third or to the first half of the second century B.C. The same hand, writing rather more carelessly and in a more cursive style, was responsible for two columns of writing on the verso; there is no trace of writing to the left of col. i so that it is not necessary to suppose that the whole of the verso was written on. The first column is so badly rubbed that, apart from the ends of the lines, only a few letters here and there can be recognized (possibly *[ρη]τ̣ι̣νης* is to be identified in l. 3 and *βαλ[σ]α̣μ̣[ον]* in l. 4); in consequence it has not seemed worth while to give a full transcription of this column, and only the final letters of each line, where the papyrus is less rubbed, have been printed. There is no punctuation; but the receipts are separated from one another by paragraphi, and occasionally a small blank space is left to indicate the beginning of a new sentence.

The initial word of each receipt projects so far as almost to touch the last word of the corresponding line in the preceding column; the average space between the columns is 1·8 cm.

Such lists of medical prescriptions are by no means uncommon in the papyri; cf. the list in C. H. Oldfather, *The Greek Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt*, pp. 43 sq., to which may now be added P. Ross.-Georg. 1, 19, a list of drugs in some ways similar to **531**, P. Lit. Lond. 170, 171, P.S.I. X, 1180, P. Iand. V, 86, and P. Giss. Bibl. IV, 45; the majority of them belong to the Roman period, and **531** may claim to be earlier than any similar text. Dr. E. T. Withington, who has given me generous help with this text, informs me that these prescriptions are probably not known from any other source; only one other instance of a *κλυστήριον* (l. 15) is known (Galen, vii. 443), and no Greek medical writers recommend otters' kidneys for their medical properties. The coincidence of ll. 16–19 with Hippocrates, *De Morbis Mulierum*, 2, 200, is sufficient to prove (as, for the matter of that, is the mention of otters' kidneys as a useful ingredient) that the receipts are of Greek and not of Egyptian origin.

Recto.

Col. i.

]μια
]
]προ
]. αν
5]
]πων
]μεον
]ε επι
]φυλλα ō
. . .

Col. ii.

καθαρσιν ποιειν μαραθου καρπον κρηθμου φλοιον εν
οινωι διδου πιειν
προς τους απο των υστερων πνιγμους ενυδριδος τους
νεφρους ξηρανας διδου οσον τοις τρισιν δακτυλοις λαβειν
εν οινωι ευωδει τουτο και προς τους των διδυμων πο
νου⟨ς⟩ βοιηθει και κλυστηριον εστιν υστερων
αλλο εαν μετα του πνιγεσθαι και βησσηι [σα]νδαρακης ⏑
θειου απυρου το ισον αμυγδαλα π[εντ]ε η δ̄ αποκα
θαρας συμμειγνυε ειτα ταυτα [. . . .] . τηι εν οινωι
ευ[ω]δει [[. . . ιον [. .]απ[. . . . .] . . ον]]
[α]λ[λ]ο [ ] . [.] . λλ . . τη[. . . . .]νο[. . . . .]τας ενυ[δριδος ?]
. . . . . .

Col. iii.

σμυρνης —— αννησου τ[
τριψας λεια διδου εμ . [
η εν εψηματος κυαθωι κ[
θερμον τουτο
ατοκειον κηκιδος και ροα[ς] τα . [
δια φυσεως των κοκκων κ[στυπτη]
ρ̀ι΄α⟨ς⟩ σχιστης ενες του π[
παντα υδατι αναδευο[μενα
ηι τα καταμ[η]νια κη . [
οσον [
. . . . .

Verso.

Col. i.

]τα αρθρα
] . . ρ̣τοις ο̣ν̣
] . . σ[.]ην
]απ̣ο̣υσης
] . . ε̣ς̣ οτι̣ ιδιον
] . . δι οθονιου
] . α̣ν̣ παγηι
]
] . . . δ
]ει̣α̣ρ̣ιμη
]α̣ν̣ο̣[
] . . [

Col. ii.

ει δε μη κρομμυ⟨α⟩ του̣
[[.]] απιου σ̣τομ̣ατικη⟨ς⟩
κυπηρου κεκαυμενης
σμυρνης
κροκου
σανδαρακης
στυπτηριας σχιστης

[α]λ̣λο μ̣υρτου τ̣ρ̣α̣υματικ[ης
χαλκου κεκαυμενου
λ̣ιβανωτ̣ου
[.] κ̣τ̣η . [ ] . ηρας

15. l. *βοηθεῖ*.

ll. 10 sq. 'To make a purge, give (the patient) the fruit of the fennel and the outer leaf of samphire, to be taken in wine.

'In case of hysterical suffocation, take dried otters' kidneys, as much as can be held in three fingers, and serve in sweet-smelling wine. This is also helpful in the case of pains in the testicles and is an enema for the womb.

'Item. If, together with choking, coughing supervenes, take equal quantities of red arsenic and unfired sulphur, also four or five almonds; cleanse them and mix well and then (give to the patient) in sweet-smelling wine.

ll. 43 sq. 'Alternatively, onions . . . spurge, which is good for the mouth, burnt cypress wood, myrrh, saffron, red arsenic, split alum, . . . burnt copper, frankincense . . .'

10. *κρηθμου φλοιον*: Hippocrates, in *De Morbis Mulierum*, 201, prescribes as follows for hysterical suffocation: *φλοιὸν μαράθου καὶ κρήθμον ἐν ὕδατι δοῦναι πιεῖν.*

12. There is no instance of the use of otter's kidneys for medical purposes in Greek writers; in medieval writers, however, and also in the London *Pharmacopoeia* for 1680 otters' testicles are recommended as a substitute for *castoreum*.

14. *οινωι ευωδει*: cf. Hippocrates, *De Morb. Mul.*, 80, also the passage quoted below.

16. This prescription is difficult to construe; probably with *βησσηι* should be supplied *ὁ πάσχων*. The mark at the end of the line is puzzling; it may be merely a line-filler, but elsewhere the scribe is not so particular about making his lines of equal length. What is wanted here is a *καί*, but ⏑ can hardly be a symbol for that.

The source of this receipt is clearly to be found in Hippocrates, *op. cit.*, 200 (ed. Littré, viii. 382) *ὅταν πνίγηται ὑπὸ ὑστερέων—ὅταν δὲ πνίγωσι καὶ ὁμοῦ βήσσῃ, σανδαράχης ὅσον ὀβολὸν καὶ θείου ἀπύρου ἴσον καὶ ἀμύγδαλα πικρὰ καθήραντα ξυμμίσγειν τρία ἢ τέσσαρα, καὶ διδόναι ἐν οἴνῳ εὐώδει.*

Red arsenic or realgar (*σανδαράκη*) was used for fumigation in the case of coughs.

17. The supplement in this line, suggested by Dr. Withington, is very probable, although the space is rather large for only three letters. In the next line we should expect a phrase to correspond with *δίδου πιεῖν*.

23. For the medical use of boiled must (*ἕψημα*), cf. Hippocrates, *De Victu*, 2, 52.

25. It is of considerable interest to find this prescription in the list. *ἀτοκεῖον* is found nowhere else among the papyri, and the only instance of it, from other sources, given by Liddell & Scott is from *SIG*, 985, 20 (Philadelphia). This inscription records the laws of a private temple, the members of which have to swear *μὴ φίλτρον, μὴ φθορεῖον, μὴ [ἀτ]οκεῖον, μ[ὴ ἁρπαγμόν, μὴ] φόνον μήτε αὐτοὺς ἐπιτελεῖν μήτε [ἑτέρῳ συμβου]λεύειν μηδὲ*

συνιστορεῖν. But rare as the word is, evidence for the use of contraceptives in Egypt, though not, as far as I know, as early as this, may be found elsewhere; e.g. Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* iii. 3 (ed. Potter, p. 521), refers to *κύαμοι ἐσθιόμενοι ἀτόκους ἐργάζονται τὰς γυναῖκας* (*κόκκων* in l. 26 presumably refers not to beans, but to the seeds of the pomegranate mentioned in l. 25: cf. Hippocrates, *De Natura Mulierum*, 32) and elsewhere, in *Paedagogus*, ii (ed. Potter, p. 227), he alludes to *φθορικὰ φάρμακα*: cf. also Hippocrates, *op. cit.* 98. *ἀτόκιον*, in the sense of *a medicine for causing barrenness*, is quoted in Liddell & Scott from Hippocrates, *Muliebria*, i. 76, and from Dioscorides , i. 77.

26. [*στυπτη*]*ρια*⟨*ς*⟩: the restoration seems fairly certain in view of l. 49. References to its use in the preparation of pessaries are frequent in Hippocrates, e.g. *De Nat. Mul.* 97.

36. Dr. Withington informs me that the juice of the greater celandine, *ὀθόνη* (*ὀθόννα*), was in common use as a cure for coughs. But it is probable that here *ὀθόνιον* has its common meaning of linen bandage.

43. *κρομμυα*: cf. Hippocrates, *De Morb. Mul.*, 74.

51. *χαλκου κεκαυμενου*: cf. Galen, xiv, p. 462. It also occurs in P.S.I., x. 1180, 73 and 105.

532. HARPOCRATION, Λέξεις τῶν Δέκα Ῥητόρων.

Acquired in 1917. 10·4 × 9·4 cm. Second to third century. PLATE 9.

This fragment of the *Λέξεις τῶν Δέκα Ῥητόρων*, consisting of the lower part of two columns, is of some interest since our earliest MS. (apart from an epitome of the thirteenth century) is of the fourteenth century, and if with Dindorf (*Harpocrationis Lexicon*, i, p. xxi) and others we place the *floruit* of Harpocration near the end of the second century A.D., it follows that the papyrus is practically contemporary. Not only does the papyrus support the accepted reading of a fragment of Theopompus Comicus, but it supplies two new readings in the text of Harpocration himself (ll. 7 and 18), one of which had already been conjectured by Sauppe, and both of which may be accepted; further, in the gloss on *Κεβρῆνα*, the papyrus clearly quoted the actual words of Ephorus which are not given in our MSS. and are not elsewhere extant. The text, written along the fibres, is in a heavy and slightly irregular book-hand of the later second or third century; *κ* and *β* are both larger than the average and reach below the line, while *ω* has a slightly backward slope. At the bottom of col. ii, probably in a second hand, is a sign resembling a *diplē* with a stroke across it. If we can assume that the gap between col. i and col. ii contained the text preserved in our MSS., we should have to allow for a loss of about 30 lines, i.e. for a column of about 45 lines and, if the upper margin corresponded to the lower one of 2·5 cm., for a roll *c.* 26 cm. in height. The verso is blank.

The text has been collated with the edition of Dindorf (Oxford, 1853).

Col. i.

P. 171

. . . . . .
[*καταργυρωσας ν*]*ενι*[*κη*]*κ*[*ως*]
[*τω προτερον ε*]*ṭ̣ει χορηγων*
[*παισι και*] *επεγραψεν επι την*

[κατατ]ομην της πετρας
[κ]αταπληξ ο συνεχως πεπλη
[γ]μενος [Λ]υσιας ἐν τω προς Αι
[σ]χινην τ[ο]ν Σωκρατικον και
[ε]ν τῳ [κ]α[τ Α]ν[δ]οκιδου ασεβει
[ας ει γνησ]ιος [ο] λογος Θεοπομ
πος [Τισαμενω] α[λ]λ η μεν Ει
[λειθυια συγγνωμη]ν εχει υπο
[των γυ]ναι[κων ο]υ[σ]α κατα
[πληξ] την τε[χνη]ν

Col. ii.

P. 172

. . . . . .
Κεβρ[ηνα Δημοσθενης εν τω]
κατα Α[ριστοκρατους πολις εστι]
της Τ[ρωαδος Κεβρην Κυμαι]
ων [αποικια ως φησιν Εφορος]
εν ε̄ [
κε . [
προ[
πε[
τους [
Κεγχ[ρεων Δημοσθενης εν τη]
[προς Πανταινετον παραγραφη]
[καπειτ επεισε τους οικετας]
[τους εμους καθεζεσθαι εις τον]
[Κεγχρεωνα αντι του εις το καθαρι]
σ[τηριον κτλ.]

11. ὕπο P.

1–4. Part of the gloss on κατατομή.

2. το . . . ετι codd.; corrected to τῷ . . . ἔτει by Valesius.

4. This line (cf. l. 13) is shorter than the rest; the scribe apparently began each gloss on a new line.

7. και: this καὶ—omitted by all the MSS. of Harpocration, an omission followed by Dindorf, and really essential to the sentence—was conjectured by Sauppe in his edition of the fragments of Lysias (*Fragmenta Oratorum Atticorum*, p. 172 in Baiter and Sauppe's *Oratores Attici*). This is now confirmed by the reading of the papyrus.

10–13 = Theopompus Comicus, fr. 59 (Kock, i, p. 749). It is interesting to find that the papyrus supports the received reading which has been unnecessarily emended. Lobel has pointed out to me that the meaning of καταπλήξ is not *aures obtundere* (so Kock), but refers to the beating of a statue of Eilythuia by women in child-birth.

18. All MSS. of Harpocration have ἐν ά, not ἐν έ, and hence this statement (for which Harpocration is our sole authority) is placed among the fragments of the first book of the *Histories* of Ephorus (Jacoby, *F. Gr. Hist.*, ii *a*, p. 45). But it was in the fifth book of his *Histories* that Ephorus dealt with Asia; hence a statement regarding a city in the Troad would properly find a place there, not in the first book. Consequently the reading of the papyrus may be accepted.

In the subsequent lines the papyrus presumably quoted the relevant passage from Ephorus, which is not given in our MSS. of Harpocration and not known from any other source.

27. This line is rather longer than the average—27 instead of 23 letters. The papyrus may, in ll. 25–6, have read with N *τοὺς ἐμοὺς οἰκέτας*, which would reduce this line to its normal length.

533. GRAMMATICAL TABLE.

Acquired in 1920. 6·3 × 13·3 cm. Fourth century.

This and the following grammatical text are of some interest since they are the first among the grammatical papyri to give the conjugation of the verb in full, if we except the school-tablet published by Kenyon in *JHS.* xxix, pp. 30 sq., which gives a paradigm of the optative and participial forms of *νικάω* in an unusual order, the singular, dual, and plural in each case being grouped separately.[1] Incidentally they may serve to solve a problem in the history of Greek grammar. From the early Byzantine period down to quite modern times the verb invariably, if unsuitably, selected for conjugation was *τύπτω*, which owed its predominance to its inclusion by Theodosius of Alexandria in his *κανόνες εἰσαγωγικοὶ περὶ κλίσεως ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων*, often placed as a supplement to the *Ars Grammatica* of Dionysius Thrax (text now in Hilgard, *Grammatici Graeci*, iv). What is uncertain is the date at which Theodosius wrote; he is known to have been later than Herodian whom he quotes, while the *tabula flexionum* of *τύπτω*, excerpted from his *κανόνες εἰσαγωγικοί* is included in the Armenian version of Dionysius Thrax, which was made before the end of the fifth century. The absence of rivals to *τύπτω* in such tables (Uhlig, in his edition of Dionysius Thrax, p. liii, remarks that *τύπτω* 'ab Theodosii temporibus non solum in Graecis scholis regnabat, sed subegit orientem quoque') suggests that his *Canons* were recognized as a standard work not long after publication; hence it is probable that the two Rylands papyri, in one of which *ποιέω*, in the other *πλέω* is conjugated, belong to the pre-Theodosian era. Since neither need be dated later than the end of the fourth century (and **533** may well be earlier), this would agree well with the supposition that the author of the *Canons* is the same as the *θαυμάσιος γραμματικὸς Θεοδόσιος* mentioned by Synesius in *Ep.* 4 and that he flourished at the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century (see Uhlig, *op. cit.*, p. xlvii, note). It should, however, be noted that in a schoolboy's exercise of the sixth century at Vienna (published by Wessely in P. Stud. Pal. i. 2, p. lviii) the verb of which the pluperfect and the present indicative passive have been written out is *γράφω*.

Both **533** and **534** agree fairly closely with the *tabula flexionum* of the Theodosian *Canons* (printed as Supplement IV to Uhlig's edition of Dionysius Thrax). There are some differences; the order of tenses is occasionally different, e.g. in **534** the future optative middle precedes the future optative passive instead of vice versa, and there are some variations in the headings, e.g. *χρόνου* is generally omitted in the *Canons* (for a more important divergence in **534**, see the introduction to that text, p. 173); on the whole, how-

[1] For a list of grammatical papyri up to 1930, see P. Oslo, II, 13, p. 21, which supplements Oldfather's list; since then an important text has been published by H. M. Hubbell in *Classical Philology*, xxviii (1933), pp. 189 sq.

ever, they agree in both terminology and arrangement. For example, in both papyri the first person of the dual is given in those tenses where the *Canons* give it and omitted where the *Canons* omit it. The only addition to be noted is that of εἰ to the optative tenses in **534**; ἐάν is employed by the *Canons* also as a ὑποτακτικὸς σύνδεσμος.

534 is better evidence for grammatical practice than the present text, although the latter is the earlier of the two and may even have been written in the late third century; **534** probably belonged to a well-written and well-produced codex, whereas **533** is written on papyrus of notably poor quality, and although the text on the recto follows directly upon that on the verso and actually breaks off in the middle of the conjugation of the infinitives, I should doubt whether the sheet ever formed part of a codex. The hand is clumsy and heavy, with traces of cursive influence; the writing is much larger on the recto which has only twenty-three lines as against the twenty-nine of the verso; the lines are irregular and sprawling. It is not quite certain that recto and verso were written by the same scribe, but the presence of the same form of ν, made by one downward stroke at a sharp slant and a second almost at right angles to it, makes it probable that they were. Possibly, then, **533** was a copy made in school; the unnecessary ἑνικά in ll. 37, 41, and 46, the clumsy erasure in l. 35, and the presence of πεποιηκέναι out of its place in l. 45 point in the same direction.

That the recto follows directly upon the verso is clear from the general arrangement which agrees with that of the Theodosian *Canons*; consequently only one line has been lost at the top of the papyrus.

I have to thank Miss E. P. Wegener for making a first transcript of this text.

Verso.

[παθητικου μελλοντος χρονου]
π[οιηθησομαι]
πο̣[ιηθησει]
πο[ιηθησεται]
δυ(ικα) πο̣[ιηθησομεθον]
πο̣[ιηθησεσθον]
ποιη[θη]σ̣ε̣[σθον]
π̣λ̣(ηθυντικα) ποιηθησο[μεθα]
ποιηθησε[σθε]
ποιηθησ[ο]νται
μ[ε]σ̣ο̣υ μελλοντος χρ(ονου) εν[ικα]
ποιησομαι
ποιησει
ποιησετ[[ε]]αι
δυ(ικα) ποιησομεθον
ποιη[σ]ε̣σθ̣ο̣ν
ποιη[σ]ε̣[σ]θ̣ο̣ν
[πλ(ηθυντικα) π]οιησομεθα
π̣ο̣ιησεσθε̣
[μ]ετ ολ̣ιγου μελλο̣ν[τος]
[το]υ [κ]αι Αττι̣[κ]ο[υ]
[εν]ικα
πεποιησομ[αι]
πεποιησει
πεποιησε[ται]
δ̣υ̣(ικα) πεποιη[σομεθον]
πεποιησ[εσθον]
πεποιησε[σθον]

Recto.

[πλ(ηθυντικα) πεποιησομεθα]
[πεποιησ]ε̣[σθε]
[πεποιησ]ο̣νται
[απαρεμφατου] εγκλισεω̣[ς]
[ενεργητικης] δ̣ιαθεσε[ω]ς̣
[χ][[ρονου ε̣ν̣]]
[[ικα]] πα]ρατατικου χρ̣(ονου)

[ενι]κα
ποιειν
[πα]ρακειμενου κ(αι)
[υ]περσυντελικου
[χ]ρονου ενικα
πεποι[ηκεναι]
αοριστ[ου]
[ποιησαι]
[πεποι]ηκεναι
[μελλο]ντος χρ(ονου) ενικα
ποιησειν
[απα]ρ[εμ]φατου εγ
[κλισε]ως παθητι
[κη δι]αθεσις ενεσ
[τωτος κ(αι) π]αρατατικο[υ]
[χρονο]υ ενικα

11. χρονου is written ☧, thus giving the exact form of the Chi Rho symbol: this need not point to a late date, since in P.S.I. X, 1180 (2nd c. A.D.) it occurs several times as an abbreviation for χρῶ.

22. The future perfect is described by the same heading in the Canons of Theodosius: the term is discussed in the scholia to the Canons of Georgius Choeroboscus (Hilgard, *Grammatici Graeci*, iv. 2, p. 207), who remarks *ἰστέον ὅτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἴδιον μέλλοντα ποιοῦσι τὸν μετ' ὀλίγον λεγόμενον, ὅστις καὶ μέλλων ὡρισμένος λέγεται.*

44. The surface of the papyrus has vanished at this point: it is possible that *ποιησαι* was never written at all and that the space between l. 44 and l. 45 was merely a little greater than usual.

534. GRAMMATICAL TABLE.

Acquired in 1920. 12·8 × 10·2 cm. Fourth century. PLATE 9.

See introduction to the preceding text. This leaf from a well-written codex in a small, slanting, and rather square hand of the fourth century (it is akin to that of the fragment of the *Knights* published by Grenfell and Hunt in Mélanges Nicole, pp. 212–17, now Bodleian MS. Gr. Class. (f) 72 (P)) is of some bibliographical interest, although owing to the eccentric arrangement of the paradigms it is not easy to determine the exact format. A further difficulty is that the brown metallic ink in several places is blurred and smudged and is not always easily read even with the help of a mercury vapour lamp; but the hand itself is neat and regular. On each side parts of three columns remain, and above one column part of the upper margin; the columns are closely packed, and there can be no question that they belong to a single page; for one thing, the columns on the recto are written across the intermarginal spaces of the verso, so there can have been no fold here. On the verso (which precedes the recto) it is tolerably easy to fill in the gaps at the bottom of the columns; in the case of cols. i and ii, an additional four or five lines would meet the demands of the text (cf. the notes). But it is clear that recto col. i, whatever the order of the paradigms, cannot follow directly upon verso col. iii. In between we must allow for eight lines to account for the perfect subjunctive active, nine for the present subjunctive passive, and six for the perfect subjunctive passive (the participle would only be written out three times, as in verso col. i). This, with the necessary headings, gives us another twenty-six lines, and deducting four lines to complete col. iii we are left with twenty-two lines. This, on the analogy of cols. i and ii, and allowing for a variation between twenty-one and twenty-two lines to the column, is the amount required to fill one other column,

and the arrangement of the columns on the page (the position of those on the recto does not correspond with that of those on the verso) leaves us only one solution, that one column is missing before col. i verso, and that the missing twenty-two lines formed a column preceding col. i recto; in other words, we must reckon with a codex of four columns to the page.

The arrangement of the other columns of the recto presents more serious difficulties. The subjunctive paradigms end in col. i. 70 (on the assumption that the future perfect subjunctive passive was omitted, as the future perfect optative passive almost certainly was—see l. 33, note—although both are to be found in the Theodosian *Canons*) and in col. ii. 73 the paradigm of the passive participles begins. This gives us four lines between the two—the space required for a simple participle paradigm; it is possible that it was taken up with a heading. The arrangement of the participles is so eccentric—first the masculine participles being given in all tenses, then the feminine, followed presumably by the neuter—that it is less difficult to suppose that after giving the masculine present participle active the scribe went straight on to the passive participles, especially in view of the fact that in recto iii the repetition of the masculine in place of the feminine participle is more proof of carelessness. A further difficulty is that at the end of col. ii we should expect to find the paradigm of the future participles, passive and middle, whereas l. 1 of col. iii begins clearly with πεπλευκ̣[υι]α̣; if the column has only twenty-one or twenty-two lines, only four intervene between the aorist participle middle (masculine) and the perfect participle active (feminine)—a space which would be naturally occupied by the present participle active feminine, which as a rule immediately precedes the perfect participle. It is probably better to assume that the arrangement of the participles was eccentric throughout (the future participle is again omitted at its proper place after l. 95), rather than to argue that the columns must have been longer, since verso cols. i and ii, which follow more closely the recognized order of paradigms, cannot be explained on the basis of a column longer than twenty-one or twenty-two lines.

Very little of the upper margin survives and none of the lower, so that the dimensions of the page cannot be calculated. Those, however, of the text can. A column of twenty-one lines would measure 9·8 cm. in height; four such columns, excluding outer and inner margin, would measure *c.* 19 cm. in width. Thus we find the surprising phenomenon of a codex the text of which is double as broad as it is long. The margin, of course, may not have been in proportion; but even with large upper and lower margins, the page cannot have been as high as it was broad. For these proportions there is no parallel, as far as I know, in any other codex; Schubart, in *Das Buch*[2], pp. 130 sqq. and 186, cites many cases where breadth and height are of the same (or nearly the same) dimensions; but none where the breadth is so out of proportion to the height as it is here. (Even with three columns to the page the disproportion would be noticeable.) Further, it is unusual to find a papyrus codex with more than two columns to the page (v. Schubart, *op. cit.*, p. 135); among parchment codices we have the Vaticanus with three and the Sinaiticus with four, but among papyri Schubart quotes no instance of a codex with more than two columns to the page. Such a work as the present one with its necessarily short lines lends itself to this treatment, but even so it is surprising to find four columns. It may be worth noting that as a rule codices with more than one column can be assigned to

the fourth century—the period in which codices whose breadth and height are approximately equal are most common.

Verso.

Col. i.

ε̣ιητον ειη̣[την]
π̣ε̣π̣λ̣ε̣υ̣σ̣μ̣ε̣[νοι]
ειημεν ειητ̣[ε] ε̣ι̣η̣σ̣α̣ν̣
αοριστου
ει πλευ[σθει]η̣ν̣
ει πλευσ̣θ̣[ειης]
ει πλε̣υ̣[σθει]η̣τ̣ο̣ν
ει πλε[υ]σ̣θ̣ε̣ι̣η̣
ε̣ι̣ π̣λ̣ε̣υ̣σθειη̣μ̣ε̣ν̣
ε̣ι̣ π̣λευσ̣θ̣ε̣ι[η]τ̣ε̣
ε̣ι̣ π̣λευσ̣θ̣ειη̣σ̣αν
μ̣ε̣σου αορι̣σ̣τ̣ο̣υ̣
[ει] πλευσα̣ι̣μ̣η̣ν̣
[ε]ι [π]λευσα̣ι̣ο̣
ε̣ι̣ π̣[λ]ε̣υ̣σ̣α̣ι̣[τ]ο̣
[ει πλε]υ̣[σαιμ]ε̣θ̣ο̣[ν]
. . . .

Col. ii.

[μεσου μελλοντος]
[ει πλευ]σ̣οι̣μ̣[η]ν̣
[ει πλευ]σ̣οιο
ει π̣[λε]υ̣σ̣ο̣ι̣το
ε̣ι̣ π̣λ̣[ε]υ̣σ[ο]ιμ̣εθον
ει πλευσοισθ̣ο̣ν̣
ει πλ[ευ]σοισθην
ε[ι] πλ[ευσ]οιμεθα
ει π̣λ̣ε̣[υ]σ̣[ο]ισθε
ει π̣λ̣ε̣υ̣[σ]ο̣ι̣ντο
αο̣[ρ]ισ(του) μελλ(οντος)
ει π̣λ̣ε̣[υσ]θ̣η̣σ̣οιμη̣ν̣
ε̣ι̣ π̣λε̣[υ]σ̣θ̣ησοιο
ει πλ[ευσ]θ̣η̣σ̣ο̣ι̣τ̣ο̣
ε̣ι̣ πλ[ευσθ]η̣σ̣ο̣ι̣μ̣ε̣θ̣[ον]
[ε]ι π̣λ̣[ευσθη]σ̣ο̣[ι]σ̣θον
[ει πλευσθη]σ̣[οισ]θη̣ν
. . . . .

Col. iii.

[εαν πλεω]
[εαν πλεης]
[εαν πλεη]
[εαν πλεητον]
ε[αν πλεητον]
εα̣ν̣ π̣[λεωμεν]
εαν π̣[λεητε]
εαν π[λεωσι]
αο̣ρ̣[ι]σ̣(του)
ε̣α̣ν̣ [πλευσω]
[ε]αν π[λευσης]
εαν πλ[ευση]
εαν πλ[ευσητον]
[ε]α[ν] π̣λ̣[ευσητον]
εα̣ν̣ π̣[λευσωμεν]
εαν π̣[λευσητε]
ε̣α̣ν̣ π[λευσωσι]
πα[ρ(ακειμενου)]
. . . .

Recto.

Col. i.

[εαν πλευσθω]
[εαν πλευσθης]
[εαν πλευσθη]
[εαν πλευ]σ̣θ̣[ητον
[εαν πλευσ]θη̣τ̣ο̣ν̣
[εαν πλευσ]θω̣μ̣εν
[εαν] πλευσθ̣η̣τ̣ε̣
[εαν] πλευσθωσ̣ι̣
[μεσ(ου) α]ορ(ιστου) και μελλ̣(οντος)
[εαν π]λ̣ε̣υ̣σωμ̣α̣ι̣
[εαν] πλευσης
[εαν] πλευση
[εα]ν̣ πλευσηται
[ε]α̣ν̣ π̣λ̣ε̣υ̣σ̣ωμ̣ε̣θ̣ον
[ε]αν πλ[ευ]σησθ̣ον

[ε]ạν πλευσησθον
[εα]ṿ πλευσωμεθα
[εα]ν πλευσησθε
[εαν πλε]υσωνται
. . . .

Col. ii.

[
[
[μετ(οχαι)] ṗαθ(ητικαι)
[πλ]εομενος
[πλ]εομενω
[π]ḷεομενοι
[π]ạρ(ακειμενου) κạι υπερ(συντελικου)
πεπλευσμενος
πεπλευσμενω
πεπλευσμενοι
αορịστου
ṗḷευσθεις
πλευσθεντε
πλευσθεντες
μεσ(ου) αορ(ιστου)
[π]λευσαμενος
[πλε]ṿṣạṃḛνω

[πλευσαμ]ενοι
. . . .

Col. iii.

πεπλευκ[υι]ạ
[πεπλευκυια]
[πεπλευκυιαι]
[αορισ(του)]
π[λευσασα]
ṗ[λευσασα]
[π]ḷḛṿṣạṣ[αι]
ṗαθ(ητικης) δ̣ιαθ(εσεως)
πλεομενη
πλεομεν[α]
πλεομεν[αι]
παρ(ακειμενου) κạι ṿṗερ(συντελικου)
πεπλευσμενο(ς)
πεπλευσμενω
πεπλευσμενọ̣ι
αοριστου
πλευσθεισα
πλευσθεισα
. . .

2. As in the *Canons*, the participle is repeated only three times in the perfect.

4 sqq. The scribe has made several mistakes in this paradigm: the third person singular is out of place and the third person dual is omitted altogether.

16. Five more lines would be required to complete the aorist optative middle; it is difficult to see what could intervene between this and the future optative middle with which col. ii begins. The future optative middle precedes the future optative passive in col. ii; the reverse order is found in the *Canons*. Hence the conclusion that the column only had twenty-one lines is hard to escape.

33. The rest of this column would presumably be filled by the remaining three persons of the future optative passive and the heading of the present subjunctive active which begins in col. iii. If the future perfect optative passive were added here (as in the *Canons*) there would be nothing to fill the corresponding space in col. i; if placed out of order in col. i, the same difficulty occurs about col. ii. Consequently it is probable that this rare tense was omitted.

42. Contrary to the practice of the *Canons* and of the text itself elsewhere, the aorist precedes the perfect.

51. For the conclusion of this column and the subsequent column see introduction.

52. The heading of this paradigm must have been the last line of the preceding column.

62. *εαν πλευσης*: wrongly transferred from the present subjunctive active.

101–3. Here the masculine forms have been written instead of the feminine.

535. GRAMMATICAL FRAGMENT.

Acquired in 1917. 6·5 × 7·5 cm. Late first/second century.

Written in a fluent cursive hand across the fibres. On the recto, in a very similar hand, is part of two columns of a list of names. Of col. i only a few of the final letters remain ; in col. ii the following names can be distinguished : Τανεχθεν[ῆσις], Σινθοῶνις, Διοκλῆς, Κεφάλων, Παποντῶς, Πανεχῶ[τις], Ἁρπαῆσις, Ταῦρις, Ὡρο̣[, Ἀμμώνιος. The grammatical text on the verso, which is rather carelessly written, does not appear to be otherwise known ; its subject, apparently, is *συναλιφή* (coalescence of vowels) in the various dialects. See further *Addenda and Corrigenda*.

. . . . .
κ̣αι λεγ̣ο̣νται αιδ̣ . [
εκφερεσθαι λογον μ̣η̣ π̣ο̣[τε Πιν]
δ̣αγικον εστι το σχημα [οιον το]
θ̣υεται ανδρες το ε̄ κ[αι ο̄ ου]
δεποτε εις αλφα συ̣ν̣[αλιφεται]
πως ουν δυναται τ̣ο̣ ε̣τ̣ε̣[ρον εις]
το θατερον συναλιφεσ[θαι δια]
τουτο οτι Δωριεις και [
θατερον λεγουσι ως ο̣ α̣[νηρ ?
ἀνηρ ουτως το δε᾽ε᾽ ροθ̣[

3. ὁ̣ has been corrected from another letter or else the scribe's pen slipped and made two strokes instead of one along the base. The γ seems to have been written twice, but no other letter can be read. If we may assume an error, Πιν]δαρικον might be read, in which case the opening words of l. 4 might belong to a quotation.

4. The supplements in this and the subsequent lines were for the most part suggested by Lobel. Ἀθηναῖοι (or possibly Ἀττικοί) may have stood in l. 8.

5. l. συναλειφεσθαι. For συναλείφεσθαι=*to coalesce*, of syllables (συναλιφή is more frequently used than the verb), cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 1070 R.

536. LEXICON TO HOMER, *ILIAD XIII.*

Acquired in 1917. 6·6 × 11 cm. Third century.

Lower part of a leaf of a papyrus codex, written in the small sloping hand common in the third century. There are two narrow columns to each page separated by not more than 1 cm. ; each column appears to have covered about 100 lines of the Homeric text and probably consisted of not less than 50 lines. The complete codex may well have contained a glossary to the whole of the *Iliad*. Other examples of this format, which got the maximum amount of writing into the available space, and which may have developed out of the economic necessities of the time, to be found in this volume are **529** and **549**. The ink is faint and in parts the text has been rewritten. There are no accents, stops, or other signs.

These 'scholia minora' to Homer, as they are found in the papyri, have been studied by A. Calderini, *Aegyptus* ii. 303 sq., *Commenti 'Minori' al testo di Omero in Documenti Egiziani.* To the list of texts there given (some published for the first time) may be added P. Oslo 12 and P. Lit. Lond. 177. The conclusion to which Calderini comes, that the Egyptian texts stand in the closest relation to the *Scholia Minora sive Didymi,* (D) (the edition used here is that of Aldus, Venice, 1521), the Pa(raphrase) of the Iliad (printed as an appendix to Bekker's *Scholia in Homeri Iliadem,* Leipzig, 1827) and, in a less degree, to the *Lexicon Homericum* of Ap(ollonius Sophistes) (ed. Bekker, Berlin, 1833), is amply confirmed by the present text.

The numbers in brackets refer to the lines of the Homeric text.

Recto.

Col. i.

. . . . .

(198) [κ]α̣ρ̣χαροδοντω[ν εχοντων
[. .]νημενους οδο̣ν̣[τας]
(199) [ρ]ωπηια συμφυτ̣[
(200) [γα]μφηλησι σια[γοσιν]
5 [η ονυ]ξ̣ι ορ̣[νιθων]
(204) [σφαιρη]δον περ̣[ιστρεφθεντα]
(210) [αντ]εβολησε απ[ηντησε]
ε̣τ̣ι̣ νυν το ηνο[
(212) [ιγ]νυην το οπισ[ω του γονατος]
(214) 10 μ̣ενοινα προθυ[μος ην]
(215) [α]ντιααν μετ[αλαμβανειν]
(217) [Π]λευρων και [Καλυδων πολεις]
Αιτωλιας [
(218) [τ]ιετο [[δη]] ετιμα[το]
(219) 15 [α]πειλαι καυχη̣[σεις]
(224) [α]κηριον αψυχ[ο]π̣οιον
(224) [ο]κ̣νω φοβω̣
(225) [αν]δ̣υ̣εται αν[αδυετα]ι̣ και φεὺγει΄
(227) [νων]υ̣μ̣ο̣υ̣ς̣ α[νωνυμ]ο̣υς

Col. ii.

. . . . .

(317) 20 α̣ι̣πυ μ[εγα
(320) αιθομενο[ν
(320) δαλον δ̣α̣[υλον
(322) εδοι̣ εσθι̣[οι
(322) Δημητερ[ος ακτην
(323) 25 [χαλκωι] τ[ε ρηκτος
(324) ρηξ[η]νορα [

Verso.

Col. i.

. . . . .

[. . . . . .]ρε̣ι̣ [
(415) [πυλαρταο του] τ̣ας πυλας
[. . . . . ? κλ]ειοντος
(416) 30 [πομπον . . . . .]ον
(435) [θελξας απατη]σας

Col. ii.

. . . . .

[. . . .]ενα̣ς [.]τ̣α . [
[. . . . . .]ος με̣τ̣α λοφ[ου
[. . . . . .] . μενου̣ κο̣μ̣ο[
(530) 35 [τρυφαλει]α περικ[ε]φ̣[αλαια]
(530) [βομβ]η̣σ̣ε εψοφ[ησε]
(531) [αιγυπιος] γυ[ψ]
[. . . .]σ̣[.] . . [
[. . . .]ος τειλ . . [
(539) 40 [νεου]τατ̣ο̣υ̣ ν̣εο̣[τρωτου
[. . . .]γρωμενου
(543) [εκλινθ]η επεκλιν̣[ετο]
(544) [θυμορ]αιστης την [ψυ]
[χην δι]αφθειρων

45 [. . . .] . ευρον μ̣ε̣[
[. . . .] αιματος
(546) [εκερσ]ε απεκοψε
(549) π̣[ερασ]σας εκτειν[ας]
(551) π̣[ερισ]ταδον περισ[ταντες]
(557) 50 σ[τρωφα]το ανεστρ[εφετο]
(559) η [τευ] η τ̣ι̣ν̣ος
(562) α[μενηνωσεν] α[σ]θενη [εποιησε]

1. Cf. *τῶν ὀξεῖς ὀχόντων ὀδόντας* (Pa).

3. Perhaps *συμφυτ[οι θαμνοι]*: cf. Pa *ἔνθα ῥῶπες (οἱ θάμνοι) εἰσι συνεχεῖς.* In the sense of *growing together*, *συμφυής* would be expected rather than *σύμφυτος.*

4. So Pa: perhaps *θηρων* should be added after *σια[γοσιν.*

9. *ἀγκυλὴν ἢ τὸ ὄπισθεν τοῦ γόνατος* D; *τὸ ὀπίσω μέρος τοῦ γόνατος* (*Scholia Townleiana*, ed. F. Maas, Oxford, 1878).

10. Or perhaps *προ⟨ε⟩θυμειτο*, as Pa; *ἐνεθυμεῖτο* D.

11. So Pa.

12. Cf. D *ἀντὶ τοῦ Πλευρῶνος καὶ Καλυδῶνος, εἰσι δὲ πόλεις Αἰτωλίας.*

14. So Pa.

15. Cf. the scholion to the Venetus Marcianus 453 (Dindorf, *Homeri Ilias*, *Scholia*, iv, s.v.): *ἀπειλαὶ δὲ αἱ καυχήσεις.*

16. So D, Pa, and Eustathius.

18. So D (without *καὶ φεύγει*).

19. So Ap and Pa.

20. So D, with *φοβερόν* added.

22. *δαῦλον . κεκαυμένον ξύλον* D.

23. So D (*ἐσθίει*) and Pa.

24–6. Glosses on all these three words are found in D.

28. *τοῦ τὰς πύλας ἰσχυρῶς ἐφαρμόζοντος* D and Pa.

30. *συνοιδοπορον* Pa. This is too long for the available space in the papyrus. [*οδηγ*]*ον* or possibly [*οδοιπορ*]*ον* might be read.

31. Although a large amount of the text—ll. 415–35—is covered in these three lines, the supplement in this line is probably correct, as in D (which is on the whole considerably fuller than the papyrus) there are only three glosses between that on *πυλαρταο* and that on *θελξας.*

32–4. It is not clear to what these lines relate. Perhaps a line was interpolated in the text used by the commentator.

33–4. Perhaps a gloss on *αὐλῶπις* (530) or *πήληκα* (527). In l. 34 [*ἀνατετ*]*αμενου* might be read, cf. Ap. *s.v. αὐλῶπις.*

35. So Pa.

36. So Ap.

37. So Pa.

40. So D and Pa. In the next line *τε*]*τρωμενου* cannot be read.

43. *ὁ τὴν ψυχὴν διαφθείρων* D and Pa.

45. The letter before *ευρον* resembles a *μ* rather than a *ν*, but it is hard to see what the word can be except *νεῦρον*; the gloss may have been on *φλέβα* (l. 546).

47. So Pa: *ἔτεμε, ἔκειρε* D.

48. So Pa.

49. *περιιστα̣μενοι* D and Pa.

50. So Pa and D.

52. So Ap, D, and P.

537. WORD-LIST TO HOMER, *ILIAD V.*

Acquired in 1917. Oxyrhynchus. 9 × 6 cm. Early fourth century.

Written on both sides of the papyrus in a heavy, upright hand common in documents of the early fourth century A.D. Verso precedes recto, but it seems unlikely that the sheet was part of a codex, as half of the verso has been left blank, and the arrangement of the lines on that side does not correspond to that on the recto. The glosses do not seem to be derived from any single extant collection of scholia on the *Iliad*; for their relation to the scholia in general see introduction to the preceding text. It is not improbable that the present text was a vocabulary designed for school use. For similar lists cf., e.g., P. Ryl. 25 and P. Lit. Lond. 177;[1] as in the latter, the words and the glosses on them are sometimes separated by dots. The text on the verso relates to *Iliad V* 5–11, that on the recto to v. 37–53.

Verso.

. . . . . .
[εναλιγκι]ον :: ομοιον
[παμφαιν]ησι :: λαμπησι
[λελουμεν]ος Ωκεανοιο
[ανατελλω]ν εκ του Ωκεανου
[τοιον] τοιουτον
[κλονεοντο] :: εταρασσοντο
[ιρευς] ιερευς
[ηστην] ησαν
[μαχης ευ ειδ]οτε πασης
. . . . .

Recto.

. . . . . .
εκλιναν εδιω̣[ξαν]
ελε απεκτεινε
μεταφρενον το μεταξυ τ[ων ωμων]
αραβησε εψοφησε
ενηρατο απεκτεινε
θηρης κυνηγιας
θηρητηρα κυνηγον
ιοχεαιρα [το]ξ̣[οτ]ι̣ς
. . . . . .

7. ïερευς P.

3. The scholiasts on this line (cf. Dindorf, *Homeri Ilias, Scholia*, s.v.) usually explain the genitive with λείπει ἡ ἐξ. D explains: νεωστὶ ἀνατέλλων ἐξ ὠκεανοῦ (see Pa also).

6. κλονεοντο: ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐταράσσοντο Ap; διεταράσσοντο D and Pa.

[1] A recent example is the text published by B. A. van Groningen in *Mnemosyne*, v (1937), pp. 62 sqq.

8. *ηστην*: *ἦσαν δυικῶς* D. It is interesting to find that the dual is glossed with *ἦσαν*, since the dual forms are given in full in contemporary grammatical papyri, cf. **533**, **534** above.

10. To the left of lines 10 and 11 are ink marks which suggest that this part of the papyrus may have been used before and was not thoroughly washed: this may be why these lines are inset.

12. *μεταξὺ (ἀνὰ μέσον) τῶν ὤμων* Pa.

13. So Pa.

16. So Pa: D adds *θηρευτήν*.

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538. METROLOGICAL TABLE.

Acquired in 1917. 5·4 × 8·5 cm. Second century.

Written along the fibres in a large and unpractised semi-uncial hand, such as is sometimes found in private letters. The writer was using a faulty pen and the ink has blotted in places. Table of the Roman money system with no variations from the norm, perhaps drawn up by a schoolboy. The verso is blank.

[. . . . .]σ̣[
[. . . . .]σηστερτια μ[
[. . . .]α χρυσα $\overline{\xi}$ α[
[το δε] σ̣ηστερτιον ε[χι δηνα]
[ρια α]ργυρα $\overline{σν}$ [ο δε χρυ]
[σου]ς εχι δηναρια αρ
[γυρα] $\overline{κε}$ το δε αργυρουν
[δηνα]ριον εχι τροπαικα [$\overline{β}$]
[το δε] τροπαικον εχι
[νουμ]μους δυο ο δε νου̣[μ̣]
[μος ε]χι ασσ̣α̣ρια $\overline{δ}$ ωσ[τε̣]
[εχει]ν το σηστερτιον [

3. l. ἔχει *et passim*. 8. τροπαϊκα P, as in l. 9.

V. EXTANT GREEK AUTHORS

539. HOMER, *ILIAD I.*

Acquired in 1917. Frag. (b). 6·6 × 7 cm. Late second century B.C.

These fragments of a roll of *Iliad I* formed part of the same piece of cartonnage as the second-century papyrus of Deuteronomy (**458**); a description of the find and a discussion of the date of the texts, together with a photograph of frag. (e) of the text of Homer will be found in *Two Biblical Papyri*, pp. 11 sq. Frag. (a) of the Homer, the long strip containing the final letters of col. i, was folded round frag. (b) of the Deuteronomy. The text is one of considerable interest, and may definitely be placed in the 'eccentric' class; there are several unrecorded readings, and two lines, although in a fragmentary condition, are preserved, of which there is no trace elsewhere. It is generally accepted[1] that the vulgate text of Homer first appeared in Egypt about the middle of the second century B.C., after which period the eccentric texts tend to disappear and the vulgate remains dominant; hence we might infer on this ground alone that a date for **539** later than that assigned to it here is improbable.

There are no stops or accents; a critical mark has been placed against l. 116. The text has been collated with that of Allen (*Homer's Iliad*, Oxford, 1931).

Frag. (a) + (b).

Col. i.

. . . . . .

[και τοτε δη θαρσησε και ηυδα μαντις αμ]ṿμων
[ουτ αρ ο γ ευχωλης επιμεμφεται ουθ εκατ]ọμβης
[αλλ ενεκ αρητηρος ον ητιμησ Αγαμε]μνων
[ουδ απελυσε θυγατρα και ουκ απεδεξ]ατ αποινα
[τουνεκ αρ αλγε εδωκεν εκηβολος ηδ] ετι δωσει
[ουδ ο γε πριν λοιμοιο βαρειας χειρας αφεξ]ει
[πριν γ απο πατρι φιλωι δομεναι ελικω]πιδα κουρην
[απριατην αναποινον αγειν θ ιερην εκα]τομβην
[ ]εθελησιṿ
[ητοι ο γ ως ειπων κατ αρ εζετο τοισι δ] ἀνεστη
[ηρως δ Ατρειδης ευρυ κρειων Αγαμε]μνων
ἀχν[υμενος μεν]ε̣ος [δε μεγα φρενες αμ]φι με̣λα̣[ιναι]
πιμπλαντ οσσε δε οι π̣[υρι λαμπετοωντι] ε̣ικτη[ν]

[1] Cf. G. M. Bolling, *The External Evidence for Interpolation in Homer* (Oxford, 1925), p. 7; P. Collart, *Les Papyrus de l'Iliade* (Revue de Philologie, 1932, pp. 315–49, and 1933, pp. 33–61).

Καλχαντα πρωτισ[τα κακ οσσομενος πρ]οσεειπε̣
μαντι κ[α]κων ου πω π̣[οτε μοι το κρηγυ]ο̣ν̣ ειπας
αει τ̣ο̣ι̣ φ̣[ιλ]ο̣ν εστι κακ[α φρεσι μαντευεσ]θαι
[εσθλον δ ου γ]αρ πω ε̣[ιπας επος ουδ ε]τ̣ελεσσας
και ν̣[υν εν Δα]ν̣αοισι θ[εοπροπεων αγορε]υεις
ειδ[. . . . .] . ε̣δ̣ωκε̣[ ]

Frag. (c) + (d).

Col. ii.

ο̣υ̣ν̣[εκ εγω κουρης Χρυσηιδος] αγλα αποιν[α]
ουκ ε̣[θελον δεξασθαι επει πολυ β]ουλομαι αυτ̣[ην]
οικοι [εχειν και γαρ ρα Κλυταιμνησ]τρας προβεβο̣υ̣[λα]
κουριδ̣ης [αλοχου επει ου εθεν εσ]τι χερειων
ου δεμας ου̣[δε φυην ουτ αρ φρενας ουτ]ε τι εργ[α]
αλλα κ̣[αι ως εθελω δομεναι παλιν ει το γ αμεινον]
βουλομ ε[γω λαον σων εμμεναι η απολεσθαι]
αυταρ [εμοι γερας αυτιχ ετοιμασατ οφρα μη οιος]
. . . . . .

Frag. (e) + (f).

Col. iii.

. . . . . .
[χ]ω̣μεν[ος ο τ αριστον Αχαιων ουδεν ετεισας]
[ως] φατο Π[ηλειδης ποτι δε σκηπτρον βαλε γαιηι]
[χρ]υσειοις η[λοισι πεπαρμενον εζετο δ αυτος]
[Ατ]ρειδης δ ετ[ερωθεν εμηνιε τοισι δε Νεστωρ]
[ηδ]υ̣επης ανορ[ουσε λιγυς Πυλιων αγορητης]
[του] και απο γλ[ωσσης μελιτος γλυκιων ρεεν αυδη]
[τω]ι δ η[δη δυο μεν γενεαι μεροπων ανθρωπων]
[εφ]θ̣[ιαθ οι οι προσθεν αμα τραφεν ηδ εγενοντο]
[εν Πυλωι ηγαθεηι μετα δε] τ̣ρ̣ι̣τ̣[ατοισιν ανασσεν]
[ο σφιν ευφρονεων] αγορησατο και̣ [μετεειπεν]
[ω ποποι η μεγα πε]νθος Αχαιαδα γ̣[αιαν ικανει]
[η κεν γηθησαι Πρι]α̣μος Πριαμοιο [τε παιδες]
[αλλοι τε Τρωες μ]εγα κεν κεχα[ροιατο θυμωι]
[ει σφωιν ταδε παν]τα πυθοιατ[ο μαρναμενοιιν]
[οι περι μεν Δαναω]ν βουληι περ̣ι̣ [δ εστε μαχεσθαι]
[αλλα πιθεσθ αμ]φ̣ω̣ [δ]ε νεωτε[ρω εστον εμειο]
[ηδη γαρ ποτ εγω] κ̣αι αρειοσιν [ηε περ υμιν]
[ανδρασιν ωμιλησα] και ου πω μ [οι γ αθεριζον]

92. Probably this is the first line of the column, as the papyrus immediately above the final letters of this line is blank; if l. 91 preceded it, some traces should be visible, as it is equal in length to l. 92. If 92 is the first line of the column, there were only nineteen lines to the column.

97. There is nothing to show whether the papyrus in this line had the text given above or that read by Aristarchus: *οὐδ' ὅ γε πρὶν Δαναοῖσιν ἀεικέα λοιγὸν ἀπώσει.*

100. All the MSS. here read (*αἴ* substituted for *τότε* by Zenodotus and the scholia) *ἐς Χρύσην· τότε κέν μιν ἱλασσάμενοι πεπίθοιμεν*, nor is there a trace of a variant in any ancient authority.

106. *ειπας*, so Aristarchus and a few MSS.; the majority read *εἶπες*.

107. All MSS. in this line read *αἰεί τοι τὰ κάκ' ἐστὶ φίλα φρεσὶ μαντεύεσθαι.* Once again there is no trace of the variant preserved by the papyrus; though it may be no more than a reminiscence of l. 541 *αἰεί τοι φίλον ἐστὶν ἐμεῦ ἀπὸ νόσφιν ἐόντα.*

108. *ἐσθλὸν δ' οὔτέ (οὐδέ) τί πω* MSS.

110. All MSS. read here *ὡς δὴ τοῦδ' ἕνεκά σφιν ἑκηβόλος ἄλγεα τεύχει.* The line is athetized in some of the scholia, but no substitute or alternative version of it has survived. Instead of]ε̣δ̣ωκε̣[,]θ̣λ̣ωκε[might be read.

116. The purpose of the sign against this line is obscure: it may call attention to the use of *καὶ ὥς* = *ὅμως*.

258. *οἳ περὶ μὲν βουλὴν Δαναῶν, περὶ δ' ἐστὲ μάχεσθαι*, so Allen's text, reading *βουλήν* with Aristarchus, Herodian, and some of the MSS. and scholia; the majority read, with the papyrus, *βουλῆι*. The transposition of *βουλῆι* and *Δαναῶν* is peculiar to the papyrus.

261. *ποτε* MSS.: *πω* papyrus.

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540. HOMER, *ILIAD II.*

Acquired in 1917. Frag. (b). 7·5 × 11·2 cm. First century.

Of this papyrus of *Iliad II* more extensive fragments, ranging from l. 251 to the end, have already been published by H. J. M. Milne as no. 6 in his *Catalogue of Literary Papyri in the British Museum*. These additional fragments, all of which belong to columns in part already published by Milne, are none the less welcome since, besides adding to the text of the papyrus, they include the statement of the number of *στίχοι* at the conclusion of the poem and also give us, in conjunction with the London fragments, an almost complete text of the central portion of the prose introduction to the *Iliad* which was written by the same scribe at the end of the book. In the computation of the number of verses in frag. (e) the archaic Attic notation is used, which is, according to Ohly's list (*Stichometrische Untersuchungen*, Leipzig, 1928, p. 84), found only in three other papyri, two of Homer and one of Sappho; this is in itself of interest, since Ohly points out (*loc. cit.*) that this system cannot have been used, even in Athens, later than the middle of the first century B.C. and had been obsolete elsewhere for a hundred years before that: consequently our MS. must derive (though not necessarily directly) from a MS. of some antiquity. Further, the figure given is 840 —there may be a few letters missing at the end of the line, but the number cannot have been higher than 849—whereas the number of lines in our MSS. is 877; consequently, the text of which this papyrus is a copy contained at least twenty-eight fewer lines than the normal. Enough verses were athetized in antiquity to account for this discrepancy; and the $\bar{\Delta}$ found against l. 419 in one of the London fragments (see Milne, introduction) indicates that nineteen of these lines were omitted in the first half of the book. In the extant text of this papyrus, after l. 419, eleven lines are absent; so that we may infer that the number of verses in **540** was not more than 848 and was probably nearer 840.[1]

[1] The stichometry of this text, as known from the London fragments, was dismissed by Collart (*op. cit.*, p. 57) as *fantaisiste*, a judgement which, in view of the new evidence, appears too severe.

The two new fragments of the prose introduction (both of which connect directly with the London fragments) confirm in several cases Milne's conjectures, while ll. 27–35 become for the first time intelligible; where the new fragments necessitate a change in the reading of doubtful letters in the London fragments attention has been called to this in the notes. For the convenience of the reader the complete text of the introduction (in as far as it exists), including the London fragments, is given below; the supplements in ll. 1–27 are by Milne, except where noted, and also those in ll. 35–45. For another account, perhaps a school exercise, of the events preceding the story of the *Iliad* see P. Rain. Lit. I, xviii.

To the description of the MS. given by Milne it is unnecessary to add much. The verso of frag. (g) contains another piece of the document mentioned by Milne, which can now be exactly dated to the seventh year of Domitian (A.D. 88/89) and gives us a *terminus ante quem* for the Homeric text. At the end of the MS., i.e. in the margin of frag. (g), are traces of writing in a coarse cursive hand; these, taken with the similar scrawls on the London fragment (see Milne, p. 20) reveal themselves as Homeric phrases picked out at random—Ἀγαμέμνων, ἥρως Ἀτρείδης, etc. The new fragments do not increase our respect either for the intelligence or the orthography of the scribe.

The London fragments were used by Allen for his text of the *Iliad*, with which the new fragments have been collated. A facsimile of part of the London text appeared in *New Palaeographical Society*, ii. 53. In the transcription below those parts of the London papyrus, either of the text or of the introduction, that directly connect with **540** are underlined.

Frag. (a).

Col. vi.

ανσταντες δ ορεοντο κεδασθε[ντες κατ]α νηας
καπνεισαν τε κατα κλεισιας κ[αι δειπν]ον ελοντο·
αλλος δ αλλωι ε[ρ]εξε θεων αιε[ιγενε]ταων
ευχομενος θαν[α]τον τε φυγ[ειν και] μωλον Αρηος·
αυταρ ο βουν ιερευσεν αναξ [ανδρ]ων Αγαμεμνων
πιθνα πενταετηρον υπερμε[νει Κ]ρονιωνι·
κικλησκεν δε γεροντας αριστ[ηας] Παναχαιων·
Νεστορα μεν πρωτιστα και Ειδο[με]νηα ανακτα·
αυταρ επειτ Αιαντε δυω και Τ[υδεο]ς υιον·
εκτο[ν] δ αυτ Οδοσηα Δι μητιν [αταλα]ντον
αυτοματος δε οι ηλθε [β]οην [αγ]αθος Μενελαος
. . . . . .

399. l. κλισίας. 405. l. Ἰδομενῆα. 407. l. Ὀδυσῆα.

Frag. (b).

Col. viii.

[σ]μερδαλεον κοναβ[ιζε ποδων αυτων τε κα]ι ιππων·
[εσ]ταν δ εν λειμων[ι Σκαμανδριωι ανθεμ]οεντι
[μυ]ριοι οσσα τε φυλλ[α και ανθεα γιγνεται ω]ρη·

[ηυ]τε μυιαων α̣[διναων εθνεα πολλα]
[α]ι̣ τ̣[ε] κατα σταθ[μον ποιμνηιον ηλασ]κουσιν
[ω]ρ̣ηι εν ειαρινειᾳ̣ [οτε τε γλαγος αγγεα δ]ε̣υει·
[το]σ̣σοι επι Τρωε[σσι καρη κομοωντες Α]χαιοι
[εν π]ε̣δ̣ιω̣ι ισταντ[ο διαρραισαι μεμα]ω̣[τ]ες·
[τους δ] ω̣ς τ αιπο[λια πλατε αιγων αι]πολοι ανδρες
[ρ]ε̣[ια] δ[ιακρ]ειν ωσ[ιν επει κε νομωι μιγεω]σ̣[ι]ν̣·
ως του[ς] η̣[γε]μονε̣[ς διεκοσμεον ενθ]α̣ και ενθα
υσμειν ηνδ ιεναι μ̣[ετα δε γλαυκω]πις Αθηνη
ομμα̣τ̣[α] και [κεφ]α̣λ̣[ην ικελος Δι τερ]πικεραυνωι
. . . . . .

471. l. *εἰαρινῇ*. 475. l. *διακρίνωσιν*. 477. l. *ὑσμίνηνδ'*.

Frag. (c).

Col. xiv.

. . . . . .
οι δ αρα Νισυρ̣[ον τ ειχον Κραπαθ]ο̣ν̣ τ̣ε̣ Κ̣α̣[σον τε]
και Κων Ευρυπ̣υ̣λοιο πολι[ν νη]σους τε Καλυ[δ]νας
των αυ Φιδιππος τε και Α[ντιφ]ος ηγησασθην̣
Θεσσαλου υιε δυω Ηρακλε[ιδα]ο ανακτος·
των δε τριηκοντα γλαφυ[ραι] νεες εστιχο[ω]ντο
νυν αυ τους οσσοι το Πελασ[γι]κ̣ον Αργος ε̣ν̣[αι]ο̣ν̣
οι τ Αλον οι τ Αλοπην οι τε Τ[ρηχ]ιν ενεμον[το]
οι τ ειχον Φθε[ι]ην ηδ Αλλαδ[α κ]αλλιγυνα[ικα]
683 a τον μεν Τληπ̣ολεμος δο[υρι]κλυτος η[γεμ]ονευε·
Μυρμιδονες [δ]ε καλευντο [και] Ελληνες [και] Αχαιοι
685 των αυ πεντ[η]κοντα νεω[ν η]ν αρχος Α̣χ̣[ιλλ]ευς
αλλ οι γ ου πολεμοιο δυσηχε̣[ος ε]μνωοντο̣
688 κειτο γαρ ε[ν νηε]σσι π̣[οδαρκης] δ̣ι̣ος Αχιλλ̣[ευς]
κουρης χοο̣[μενος Βρισηιδος ηυκ]ο̣μ̣οιο
. . . . . .

682. Τρηχιν' ενεμοντο for Τρηχῖνα νέμοντο: so also the MSS. (with the exception of $\mathfrak{p}^2$), Strabo and Eustathius. 683ª = 657. This transposition is not found in any other MS. 687. Omitted. Lines 686–94 were athetized by Zenodotus.

Frag. (d).

Col. xix.

. . . . . .
Μ[υ]σων δε Χρο[μ]ις ηρχε και [Εν]νομος οιω̣νιστης
α[λλ] ουκ οιωνοισιν ερρυσατ̣ο̣ κηρα μελαιναν
860 α[λλ] εδαμη υπ̣ο̣ χερσι ποδωκεος Α̣ιακιδαο{εν}
ε̣ν̣ ποταμωι χρυσον δ Αιλευς εκομισσε δαιφρων
Φ̣ορκυς αυ Φρυγας ηγε και Ασκανιος θεοειδης

τηλ εξ Ασκανιης μεμασαν δ υσμινι μαχεσθαι·
Μ̣η̣[ι]σσιν αυ Μεσθλης τε και Αντιφος ηγησασθην
υιε Ταλαιμενεος τωι Γυγαιη τεκε λιμνην
οι [κ]αι Μηιονας ηγον υπο Τμωλωι γεγαωτας·
Να̣[σ]της αυ Καρω̣ν ηγησατο βαρβαρυφωνων
οι Μ̣[ι]λητον εχο[ν] Φθιρων τ οροs ακριτοφυλλον
Μα[ι]α̣νδρου τε ρο̣α̣ς Μυκαλης τ αιπεινα καρηνα·
των μεν αρ Αμ[φι]μαχος και Ναστης ηγησασθην
Να[σ]της Αμφιμ[α]χος τε Νομιονος αγλαα [τ]εκνα
οs και χρυσον ε̣[χ]ω̣ν πολεμονδ ιεν ηυτε κ̣ηρη
ν̣η̣[π]ι̣ος ουδε τ̣[ι οι τ]ο γ επηρκεσε λυγρον ολ̣[εθρ]ον
α̣[λλ] ε̣δαμη υ[πο χερσ]ι ποδωκεος Αιακιδ[αο]
[εν] π̣[οταμωι οθι περ Τρω]α̣ς κ̣ε̣ρ̣α̣ιζ̣ε κ̣[αι αλλου]s
. . . . . .

860. εν: added from 861. 861. In our text this line has changed places with 875. 865. l. λίμνη. 872. l. κούρη.

Frag. (e).

Col. xx.

ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ

Β

ΑΡΙΘΜ οι ΓΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΔ[

Frag. (f) and (g)

Col. xxi.

τουτ[ου τ]ου̣ πο̣[λ]ε̣[μου] προ [τ]η̣ς [Αχιλ]λεω
s μηνιδ̣[os] τ̣αδ̣ε̣ [.]λ̣[. . . .] καθ Ομη[ρο]ν̣ τις
θελησ̣[ας διηγησασθα]ι̣ τουτον [το]ν τρ
οπον την διηγη̣σ̣[ιν π]οιουμε[ν]os ου
κ αν αμαρτα̣[νοι της α]ληθειας κατα
τους αυτους̣ [χρον]ους ησαν ε̣π{ε}ι μ
εν της Ευρ{υ}ωπ[ης] β̣ασιλεις αλλοι δε
της Αχαι{ι}ας ε̣π̣ι̣φ̣α̣[ν]εστατοι ο[ι] Ατρεω
s παιδες του Πε[λ]ο[π]ο{ι}s του Τανταλ
ου του Διος Αγαμεμνων τε και Μεν
ελαος ουτοι δε τας Τυνδαρεω{s} και Λ
ηδας θυγατερας εγημεν Αγαμεμ
νων μεν Κλυταιμηστραν Ελενην
δε την εκ Διος Μενελαος επι δε της Α
σιας αων περι τον Ελλησπο[ν]τον το
πων καθ⟨ε⟩ιστηκει δυναστης Πρια

μ[ος] Δ[αο]μεδον[τ]ος του Ιλου τ[ο]υ Τρω
ος [τ]ου Εριχθονιου [το]υ Δαρ[δανο]υ του Δ[ι]
ος εκ μεν τηδ̣ Δυμαντος θυγατρος
Εκαβης παιδος εγεννησεν γνησιου
ς εννεα και δεκα εγ δε των παλλακι
δων ενα και τριακοντα ουτος του τη
ς Ελενης λαλουμενου καλλους και σ
υνεργον σχων Αφροδιτην επλευσεν
εις Λακεδαιμονα του δε Μενελαου κ
ατ εκεινον τον κα[ι]ρον αποδημησαν
τος εις Κρητην το[ι]ς βασιλειοις επιξεν
ωθεις αυτου της Ε[λ]ενης καταδεξαμ
ενης κατα την Ελληνικην συνηθειαν
αρπασας δια χρημα̣των δια περαλογισ
μου πρωτον μεν επλησιασεν αυτην
εν τ[η ν]ησσωι τη ποτε μεν α[ν]ονυμ
ωι μ[ετ]α ταυτα δε απ εκεινης ελενης α
γο[νου]σης ειτα την φυγυ[ν ποι]ησαμ
ε̣[νοι εν] Σιδωνι οδατοτου[. . . . .]σονε
[. . . . .] . ατηχ[. . .]ησεν [. . . . .]ν
[. . . . . .] . [. . . . . .]

Col. xxii.

ν και πασι τ̣[οις] Ελλησι . . ηνο̣ . π̣ο̣[. .]
διαγανακ[το]υ̣ντες [ε]π̣ι̣ των [αδι]
[κ]ηματων ⟨α⟩ [ε]σ̣χεν αυτους οθε[ν συν]
[ο]μοσαντες μη προτερον εις [οι]κ̣[ο]
ν ανακαμψαι πριν τη̣ν Ιλιον [σ]υν
ελειν· ως οι γ αμφιε̣π̣ον ταφο[ν] Εκ
τορος ηλθε δ Αμαζ̣ω̣[ν] οτρηρ[η] θυγ
ατηρ ευειδης Πενθεσιλ⟨ε⟩ια

Frag. (f) and (g)

1. τ]ου̣ π̣ο̣ . . [. . . . .] Milne.

15. l. τῶν.

20. l. παῖδας.

22. The writer has omitted to mention Paris by name.

25. According to Proclus' epitome of the *Cypria*, Menelaus only leaves for Crete after the arrival of Paris at Sparta.

29. Φο]ινικην συλ[Milne.

30.]υ̣των Milne. l. παραλογισμοῦ.

δια χρηματων and δια παραλογισμου are presumably alternatives; and by a mistake the writer has incorporated both in his text. At any rate, according to this version, Helen is only in part guilty.

31. l. αὐτῇ.

32. According to the common version, the union of Helen and Paris took place on the island of Kranae (*Iliad* iii. 445): according to one story, preserved (apart from this text) only in Strabo (iii. 1, 22), the island in question was one off the coast of Attica which after Helen's visit changed its name from Kranae to Helene (*v.* Roscher, *Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, 1, 2, 1939).

l. *νήσῳ ἀνωνύμῳ.*

33. *αγουουσης* for *ακουουσης* is an unusual error, but the sense of the passage is plain and the only alternative would be to read *αγο[ρευου]σης* (which would suit the space better) and assume that the scribe wrote it in error for *ἀγορευομένης.*

33. *ωιλ̣[* Milne.

34. l. *φυγή[ν.*

35. The writer of this introduction clearly follows the story found in Proclus' epitome of the *Cypria* and often in later literature, according to which Helen and Paris went to Sidon (and, in some authorities, Egypt as well) before returning to Troy; Herodotus' version (ii. 117) is that they reached Troy in three days from Sparta (cf. Roscher, *op. cit.*).

οδ⟨υρ⟩ατο may have been intended here (Skeat): if so, *ποι]ησαμε[νη* should be read in l. 34.

37. Probably the last line of the column: in the Homeric text there are only thirty-five lines to the column.

38. *. . . νο . . .* [Milne. According to Milne's numeration this is l. 37.

43. With this Milne compares Schol. Townley, *Il.* xxiv. 804 *ὡς οἱ γ' ἀμφίεπον τάφον Ἕκτορος· ἦλθε δ' Ἀμαζὼν | Ἄρηος θυγάτηρ μεγαλήτορος ἀνδροφόνοιο,* and remarks that both versions are designed to link the *Iliad* with the *Aethiopis.*

541. HOMER, *ILIAD II.*

Acquired in 1917. 11·7 × 26·3 cm. First century.

Part of two columns of a roll containing *Iliad*, Book II. The writing, along the fibres, is an upright, somewhat formal, and decorative hand, not unlike that of Schubart, *Pal.*, Abb. 75, though not so stylized: *σ* has a curved top, *υ* is deep and reaches below the line, the medial stroke of *ε* is unattached to the rest of the letter and generally connects to the base of the following letter. There is no accentuation and only one certain case of punctuation; the apostrophe and diaeresis are occasionally used. The verso is blank. The text is that of the vulgate and there are few readings of any interest. Collated with Allen, *Homer's Iliad.*

Col. i.

χ[α

—λις

[αλλος δ αλλω ερεζε θεων α]ιειγενεταων
[ευχομενος θανατον τε φυγ]ε̣ιν και μωλον Αρηος
[αυταρ ο βουν ιερευσεν αναξ ανδ]ρων Αγαμεμνων
[πιονα πενταετηρον υπερμενει] Κρονιωνι
[κικλησκεν δε γεροντ]α̣ς α̣[ριστηα]ς Παναχαιων
[Νεστορα μεν πρωτιστ]α και Ι̣[δομ]ε̣νηα ανακτα
[αυταρ επειτ Αιαντε] δ̣υω και Τυδεος υιον
[εκτον δ αυτ Οδυσηα Δ]ι μητιν αταλαντον

[αυτοματος δε οι ηλ]θ̣ε βοην αγαθος Μενελαος
[ηδεε γαρ κατα θυμον] αδελφεον ως επονειτο
[βουν δε περιστησαντο] και ουλοχυτας ανελοντο
[τοισιν δ ευχομενο]ς μετεφη κρειων Αγαμεμνων
[Ζευ κυδιστε μεγισ]τ̣ε κελαινεφες αιθερι ναιων
[μη πριν επ ηελιον δ]υ̣ναι και επι κνεφας ελθειν
[πριν με κατα πρηνε]ς βαλεειν Πριαμοιο μελαθρον
[αιθαλοεν πρησαι δε] πυρος δηϊοιο θυρετρον
[Εκτορεον δε χιτω]να περι στηθεσσι δαϊξαι
[χαλκω ρωγαλεον] π[ο]λ̣εες δ αμφ αυτον ετ[αι]ροι
[πρηνεες εν κονισιν οδα]ξ̣ [λ]αζοιατ̣ο γ̣αιαν
[ως εφατ ουδ αρα πω οι επε]κραιαινε Κρ̣ο̣[νι]ων
[αλλ ο γε δεκτο μεν ιρα πονο]ν δ αμεγαρτον οφ[ε]λλεν
[αυταρ επει ρ ευξαντο και ουλ]οχυτας α̣ν̣ε̣λ̣ο̣ν[τ]ο
[ανερυσαν μεν πρωτα και εσ]φαξαν και ε̣δ̣ει[ρα]ν
[μηρους τ εξεταμον κατα τε] κνιση εκα[λυ]ψ̣α̣ν̣
[διπτυχα ποιησαντες επ αυ]τ̣ων δ ωμ̣ο̣θ̣ετησαν
[και τα μεν αρ σχιζησιν αφυ]λλοισιν κ̣α̣τ̣ε̣καιο̣ν
[σπλαγχνα δ αρ αμπειραντες] υπειρε[χον Ηφ]α̣ιστοιο
[αυταρ επει κατα μηρ εκαη και] σπλα̣γ̣[χνα] π̣ασαντο
[μιστυλλον τ αρα ταλλα και αμφ] οβελοισιν ε[π]ειραν
[ωπτησαν τε περιφραδεω]ς ερυσαντο τ̣ε π̣α̣ντα
[αυταρ επει παυσαντο πονου] τετυκοντο τε δ̣[α]ι̣τα
[δαινυντ ουδε τι θυμος εδ]ε̣υ̣ετο δαιτος ε̣ι̣[σ]η̣ς
[αυταρ επει ποσιος και εδη]τ̣υος εξ ερο̣ν̣ [εν]το
[τοις αρα μυθων ηρχε Γερη]νιος ιπποτα Νεσ̣τ[ω]ρ̣
[Ατρειδη κυδιστε αναξ ανδ]ρων Αγαμεμ̣νο̣ν̣
[μηκετι νυν δηθ αυθι λεγω]μ̣εθα μηδ ετ̣ι̣ δη[ρ]ο̣ν̣
[αμβαλλωμεθα εργον ο δη] θεος εγγυ̣α̣λιξει̣
[αλλ αγε κηρυκες μεν Αχαιω]ν χαλκοχι̣τ̣ω̣ν̣ω̣ν̣
[λαον κηρυσσοντες αγειρον]των κατα νηας
[ημεις δ αθροοι ωδε κατα] σ̣τρατον ευρυν Αχαι[ων]

Col. ii.

ϊομεν οφρα [κε θασσον εγειρομεν οξυν Αρηα]
ως εφαθ· ουδ [απιθησεν αναξ ανδρων Αγαμεμνων]
αυτικα κηρυ[κεσσι λιγυφθογγοισι κελευσε]
κηρυσσειν πο[λεμονδε καρη κομοωντας Αχαιους]
οι μεν εκηρυ[σσον τοι δ ηγειροντο μαλ ωκα]
οι δ αμφ Ατ[ρειωνα διοτρεφεες βασιληες]
√θυνον κρο . [ ]
αιγιδ' εχου[σ εριτιμον αγηρων αθανατην τε]
της εκατο[ν θυσανοι παγχρυσεοι ηερεθονται]

παντες ευ[πλεκεες εκατομβοιος δε εκαστος]
συν τηι πα[ιφασσουσα διεσσυτο λαον Αχαιων]
οτρυνουσ [ιεναι εν δε σθενος ωρσεν εκαστω]
καρδιηι αλ̣[ληκτον πολεμιζειν ηδε μαχεσθαι]
τοισι δ αφ[αρ πολεμος γλυκιων γενετ ηε νεεσθαι]
εν νηυσ[ι γλαφυρησι φιλην ες πατριδα γαιαν]
ηϋτε πυρ α[ιδηλον επιφλεγει ασπετον υλην]
ουρεος εν [κορυφης εκαθεν δε τε φαινεται αυγη]
ως των ερχ[ομενων απο χαλκου θεσπεσιοιο]
αιγλη πα̣[μφανοωσα δι αιθερος ουρανον ικε]
των δ̣ [ως τ ορνιθων πετεηνων εθνεα πολλα]
χ̣[ηνων η γερανων η κυκνων δουλιχοδειρων]
Ασιῳ [εν λειμωνι Καυστριου αμφι ρεεθρα]
ενθα [και ενθα ποτωνται αγαλλομενα πτερυγεσσι]
κλαγγη[δον προκαθιζοντων σμαραγει δε τε λειμων]
ως των [εθνεα πολλα νεων απο και κλισιαων]
ες πεδι[ον προχεοντο Σκαμανδριον αυταρ υπο χθων]
σμερδα[λεον κοναβιζε ποδων αυτων τε και ιππων]
εσταν [δ εν λειμωνι Σκαμανδριω ανθεμοεντι]
μυριοι [οσσα τε φυλλα και ανθεα γιγνεται ωρη]
ηυτε μ[υιαων αδιναων εθνεα πολλα]
αι τε κατ[α σταθμον ποιμνηιον ηλασκουσιν]
ωρηι ε[ν ειαρινηι οτε τε γλαγος αγγεα δευει]
τοσσο[ι επι Τρωεσσι καρη κομοωντες Αχαιοι]
. . . . . .

400. The scrawl at the top of this column probably has no relation to the text; it is most likely a memorandum of some kind and χο(ῖνιξ) α λί(τραι) ϛ might be read.

415. *θυρετρον*: *θύρετρα* codd. The reading of the papyrus is probably influenced by the *μελαθρον* of the preceding line.

421. *ανελοντο*: also read (cf. l. 410) by six minuscules, none of which is earlier than the thirteenth century; *προβάλοντο* codd.

436. *εγγυαλιξει*: so most MSS.; *ἐγγυαλίζει* Aristarchus, Apollonius Rhodius, Aristophanes, ST $\mathfrak{p}^2$ and some minuscules. The latter reading is commonly adopted by modern editors.

441. *εφαθ*: *ἔφατ'* codd.

446. For this line—*θῦνον κρίνοντες, μετὰ δὲ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη*—no variants are recorded, and the reading of the papyrus may merely be due to the omission of the *ιν* of *κρινοντες*. The mark in the margin probably indicates a corruption of some kind.

542. HOMER, *ILIAD V.*

Acquired in 1917. 9·1 × 10·4 cm. Third century. PLATE 9.

Part of a column containing ll. 473–95 of *Iliad* V. The hand, a good book-hand of the best Roman style, is small, firm and regular, and closely packed; the letters are rounded and are all much of the same size; the tail of the *υ* reaches below the line and has a slight

leftwards curve; the central stroke of ω is straight and carried slightly above the line as in P. Ryl. **28**. There are no accents or breathings. The text (collated with that of Allen) is the vulgate. The verso is blank.

[φης πο]ụ [ατ]ε[ρ] λ̣α̣ων πολιν εξεμε[ν ηδ επικουρων]
[οιο]ṣ συ γαμβροισι κασιγ[ν]ητο[ισι] τ[ε σοισι]
[τω]ν νυν ου τι̣ν εγων ιδεειν δυνα[μ ουδε νοησαι]
[αλ]λ̣α καταπτω̣σ̣σουσι κυνες ως αμφ[ι λεοντα]
[ημ]ε̣ις δε μαχομεσθ οι περ τ επικουροι̣ [ενειμεν]
[και γα]ρ εγων επικουρος εων μ̣α̣λ̣[α] τ[ηλοθεν ηκω]
[τηλου γ]α̣ρ Λυκιη Ξανθω επ̣ι̣ δειν̣η̣ε̣ν̣τ̣[ι]
[ενθ αλο]χον τε φιλην ελιπ̣ον κα[ι ν]ή[πιον υιον]
[καδ δε κτηματ]α̣ πολλ[α] τ̣[α τ ε]λ̣δεται̣ ος [κ επιδευης]
[αλλα και ως Λυκι]ους οτρυνω και μεμ[ον αυτος]
[ανδρι μαχησασ]θ̣αι αταρ ου τι μοι ε[νθ]α̣[δε τοιον]
[οιον κ ηε φεροιε]ν Αχαιοι η κεν α[γοιεν]
[τυνη δ εστηκας ατ]α̣ρ ουδ αλλοισι κ̣[ελε]υε[ις]
[λαοισιν μενεμεν] και α̣μ̣υν[εμε]̣ναι ω[ρεσσι]
[μη πως ως αψι]σ̣ι̣ λ̣ινου αλοντε παναγρ[ου]
[ανδρασι δυσμενε]εσσιν ελωρ και κυρμ[α γενησθε]
[οι δε ταχ εκπερσου]σ ευ ναιομενην πολ[ιν υμην]
[σοι δε χρη ταδε πα]̣ντα μελειν νυκτας τ̣ε̣ [και ημαρ]
[αρχους λισσομενω τηλε]κλιτων τ επικο[υρων]
[νωλεμεως εχεμεν χαλε]π̣η̣̣ν δ αποθεσ̣[θαι ενιπην]
[ως φατο Σαρπηδων δακε δε] φρενας Εκτ[ορι μυθος]
[αυτικα δ εξ οχεων συν τευ]χ̣ε̣σ̣ιν αλτο χα̣[μαζε]
[παλλων δ οξεα δουρα κατα στρατον ωχετ]ο̣ π̣[αντηι]

. . . . . .

474. συ P: σὺν codd. The error probably arose from haplography: the scribe intended to write συγ γαμβροισι (so Allen).
475. εγων: the vulgate reading against ἐγὼ of other MSS.
479. l. διηνεκεντι.
481. τα ελδεται Allen. The MSS. mostly read τάτ', a few τάδ' or τὰ δ'.
491. l. τηλεκλειτῶν. The following τ is an error peculiar to this MS.
492. The majority of MSS. read with P χαλεπὴν: the rest κρατερὴν (so Allen).

543. HOMER, *ILIAD XI.*

Acquired in 1917. Oxyrhynchus. 11 × 21·4 cm. Third century.

Written across the fibres in a good book-hand of the broad sloping type (cf. e.g. P.Oxy. 1016). On the recto are traces, badly rubbed, of an account in a small cursive hand which may be attributed to the later second century; hence the Homer text, if written later, may

be placed near the turn of the century. The text, with two variations, is that of the vulgate; accentuation is spasmodic, but punctuation fairly regular (for a misplaced point, see l. 556). The reading *σακος μεσον* in l. 565 has been corrected in the margin in a small cursive hand. To the right are traces of a second column; the initial letters of ll. 582-98 remain and a horizontal line has been drawn at the bottom of the column. Each column contained 33 lines; a wide margin is left in between them, and the impression given by the text as a whole is not that of a casually written or school text. Collated with Allen's text.

. . . . . .

[ριμφ εφερον θοον αρμα μετα Τρωας] κ̣[αι Αχαιους]
[στειβοντες νεκυας τε και ασπιδ]α̣ς αιματ[ι δ αξων]
[νερθεν απας πεπαλακτο και αντυ]γες αι π[ερι διφρον]
[ας αρ αφ ιππειων οπλεων ραθαμ]ι̣γγες εβ̣[αλλον]
[αι τ απ επισσωτρων ο δε ιετο δυν]αι ομιλ[ον]
[ανδρομεον ρηξαι τε μεταλ]μενος· ε[ν δε κυδοιμον]
[ηκε κακον Δαναοισι μινυνθα δε χ]αζετο δ̣[ουρος]
[αυταρ ο των αλλων επεπωλειτο σ]τιχας α[νδρων]
[εγχει τ αορι τε μεγαλοισι τε χερ]μ̣αδιοι[σιν]
[Αιαντος δ αλεεινε μαχην Τελα]μ̣ωνια̣[δαο]
[Ζευς δε πατηρ Αιανθ υψιζυγος] εν φ[οβον ωρσε]
[στη δε ταφων οπιθεν δε σακος β]α̣λλ' [επταβοειον]
[τρεσσε δε παπτηνας εφ ομιλου θ]ῃ̣ρι ε[οικως]
[εντροπαλιζομενος ολιγον γονυ] γου[νος αμειβων]
[ως δ αιθωνα λεοντα βοων απο] μεσ[σαυλοιο]
[εσσευαντο κυνες τε και ανερες αγρ]οϊω[ται]
[οι τε μιν ουκ ειωσι βοων εκ π]ειαρ ἐλ̓εσθαι
[παννυχοι εγρησσοντες ο δε κ]ρειων ερατιζων
[ιθυει αλλ ου τι πρησσει θαμεες] γαρ ακοντες
[αντιον αισσουσι θρασειαων α]πο χειρων·
[καιομεναι τε δεται τας τε] τ̣ρ̣ῆ̣ι εσσυμενος περ.
[ηωθεν δ απονοσφιν εβη τετ]ιηοτι θυμωι·
[ως Αιας τοτ απο Τρωων τετιη]μενος ητορ.
[ηιε πολλ αεκων περι γαρ δι̣ε̣ ν]ηυσιν Αχαιων.
[ως δ οτ ονος παρ αρουραν ιων ε]βιησατο παιδας
[νωθης ωι δη πολλα περι ρο]παλ αμφις εαγη
[κειρει τ εισελθων βαθυ ληιον]· οι δε τε παιδες
[τυπτουσιν ροπαλοισι βιη δε] τε νηπὴι΄ αυτων
[σπουδηι τ εξηλασσαν επει τ] εκορεσσατο φορβης·
[ως τοτ επειτ Αιαντα μεγαν] Τ̣ελαμωνιον υιον
[Τρωες υπερθυμοι τηλεκλειτ]όι τ επικουροι
[νυσσοντες ξυστοισι σακος μ]εσον αιεν εποντο *μεσον σακος*
[Αιας δ αλλοτε μεν μν]ησασκετο θουριδος αλκης

545. *βαλλ'*: this reading has no other authority. The MSS. read either *βάλετ'* or *βάλεν*.
550. *π]ειαρ*: so a few other MSS., for *πῖαρ*.

561. *νηπὴι′* (sic): l. *νηπιη*.
564. *τηλεκλειτ]οί*: so other MSS. The reading *πολυηγερέες* rests on Aristarchus and the scholia.
565. *σάκος μ]εσον*: this inversion is not found elsewhere.

544. HOMER, *ILIAD XXIV*.

Acquired in 1917. 3·8 × 10·6 cm. Early second century.

Written along the fibres in an angular, tall hand with a slight backwards slope; ϵ, ο, and σ are narrow, ν, π, and μ unusually broad. Probably to be assigned to the first half of the second century, cf. Schubart, *Pap. Graec. Berol.* 19 a, id., *Pal.*, Abb. 35 (a document of A.D. 135). The fragment contains part of ll. 169–76; the lower margin measures 5·7 cm. The verso is blank.

. . . . . .
[στη δε παρα Πριαμον Διο]ϛ αγγ[ελος ηδε προσηυδα]
[τυτθον φθεγξαμενη] τ̣[ο]ν̣ δε [τρομος ελλαβε γυια]
[θαρσει Δαρδανιδη Πρι]α̣με φρ[εσι μηδε τι ταρβει]
[ου μεν γαρ τοι εγω κακ]ον οσσ[ομενη τοδ ικανω]
[αλλ αγαθα φρονεουσα] Δ̣ιος δε τ[οι αγγελος ειμι]
[ος σευ ανευθεν εων με]γα κηδ[εται ηδ ελεαιρει]
[λυσασθαι σ εκελευσεν Ολυ]μπιο[ς Εκτορα διον]
[δωρα δ Αχιλληι φερεμε]ν τα κε θ[υμος ιηνη]

545. HOMER, *ODYSSEY IX*.

Acquired in 1917. 12·4 × 9 cm. Third century.

This papyrus was most probably a school text, which may account for its eccentric and sometimes corrupt readings, and for its peculiar form; it consists of the first halves only of ll. 122–50 of *Odyssey IX*. The text is written in two columns divided by a thick line down the centre: another runs down the outside edge of col. ii. A blank space has been left at the bottom of col. ii; hence this extract is probably complete as it stands. The purpose in writing the first halves of the lines is obscure, unless it was a lesson in the use of the caesura; but the quality of the text and of the handwriting (a heavy and clumsy book-hand) makes it fairly safe to assume that it was the work of a schoolboy. The text, in spite of occasional corruptions and obviously spurious variants, is of interest as showing what might happen to a school text; after l. 141, a line from Bk. xiii (104) has been interpolated, and before 130 is a line which does not appear in our MSS., and which I have been unable to trace elsewhere. The orthography is poor and there are no accents or punctuation. The verso is blank.

ουδ ạ̣ρα γηποινναισι
αλλ η γ ασπαρτος και α
ανδρων δηρευει βοσ
125 ου γαρ Κυκλωπεσσι νη
[ο]υδ ανδρες νηων ενι
ν̣ηας ευσσελμους αι
[.]ειμεν επ ανθρωπων
ạ̣νδρες επ αλληλους
129 a ạ̣ς ενεκα ξενιης ηκ
130 ọ̣ι κε σφιν και νησον ευ
[ο]υ μεν γαρ τι κακη γε φε
ε̣ὐ μεν γαρ λειμωνες
[υ]δ̣ρηλοι μαλακοι μαλα
[ε]ν δ αροσις λειη μαλα
135 [ε]ị̣ς ωρας αμων επι η
[ε]ν δε λιμην ευορμος
ουδ ανκυροβολειν
ạ̣λλ επικελσαντας μει
{αλλ επικελσαντας μει}
θυμος εφορμηση και ε
140 αυταρ επει κρατος λιμε
εκ κρηνης καθεης πε
141 a ιρον νυμφαων αι νιια
ενθα κατεπληομεν
νυκτα κατ ορφναιην
αηρ γαρ περι νευσι πα
145 ουρανοθεν προυφαινε
ενθ ου τις την νησον ε
ουτ ουν κυματα μακρα
ισσιδομεν πριν νηας
κελσασησι δε νευσι κα
150 εκ δε και αυτοι βημεν

122. Corrupt, probably for *γεωπονίαισι*: MSS. read *οὔτ' ἄρα ποίμνῃσιν*.

124. l. *χηρεύει*.

125. l. *νέ(ες)*.

128. No variant is noted to the *ἄστε' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων* of the MSS.; it is difficult to see what the writer of this text had in mind. He may conceivably have written [λ]*ειμεν*=*λιμέν'*, although elsewhere he both spells and scans the word correctly.

135. l. *ἀμῷεν*. *επι η* (l. *ἐπεὶ ἦ*) P: *ἐπεὶ* codd.

137. *ανκυροβολειν* P: *εὐνὰς βαλέειν* codd. *ἀγκυροβολεῖν*, a gloss (or perhaps a desperate effort on the part of a schoolboy who had forgotten the text), is only cited in Liddell and Scott (new ed.) from Hippocrates, *περὶ ὀδοντοφυΐης*, 18.

139. *εφορμηση* P: *ἐποτρύνῃ* codd.

141. In the MSS. this line runs *κρήνη ὑπὸ σπείους· περὶ δ αἴγειροι πεφύασιν*; there is no authority for *ἐκ κρήνης*. In the following word the writer may have intended *καθαρης*.

141 *a* = xiii. 104.

142. l. *κατεπλέομεν*.

143. *νύκτα δι' ὀρφναίην* codd.

144. l. *νησί*. After *νησί* all MSS. read *βαθεῖ'*.

148. l. *εἰσίδομεν*.

149. l. *νησί*.

546. HOMER, *ODYSSEY XXIV*.

Acquired in 1917. 22·8 × 12 cm. Second century.

Written along the fibres in a large clear but clumsy uncial, very probably the work of a schoolboy. The hand, in general appearance closely resembles Schubart, *Pal.*, Abb. 76, of the reign of Augustus; but *ξ* is formed by three separate and parallel strokes and *μ* resembles a double λ. Verso blank. Collated with the text of Ludwich.

[κτηματα κειρον]τες και ατιμαζοντες ακοιτιν
[ανδρος αριστη]ος τον δ ουκετι φαν̀το νεεσθ[αι]
[και νυν ωδε γε]ν̣οιτο πιθεσθε μοι ως αγορευω
[μη ιομεν μη] π̣ου τις επισπαστον κακον ευρη[ι]
[ως εφαθ οι δ αρ α]νηιξαν μεγαλω αλαλητωι
[ημισεων πλειο]υ̣ς τ̣οι τ αθροοι αυτοθι μειναν
[ου γαρ σφιν αδε μυ]θος ενι φρεσιν αλλ Ευπειθει
[πειθοντ αιψα δ ε]π̣ειτ επι τευχεα εσσευοντο
[αυταρ επει ρ εσσα]ν̣το περι χροι νωροπα χαλκον
[αθροοι ηγερεθοντ]ο̣ προ αστεος ευρυχοροιο
[τοισιν δ Ευπειθη]ς̣ ηγησατο νηπιεηισι
[φη δ ο γε τισεσθ]α̣ι παιδος φονον ουδ αρ εμελλεν
[αψ απονοστησει]ν αλλ αυτου ποτμον εφεψειν̣
[αυταρ Αθηναιη Ζ]ηνα Κρονιωνα προσηυδα
. . . . . .

464. τοι τ αθροοι: τοὶ δ' ἀθρόοι codd. μειναν, so FPHMU, h s v: μίμνον LW, Eust., wb.

468. The mark at the end of this line may be for punctuation; but blots elsewhere in the text suggest that it is accidental.

471. εφεψειν, so M with most MSS.: ἐφέξειν LW.

547. EURIPIDES, *PHOENISSAE.*

Acquired in 1917. Oxyrhynchus. 7·3 × 10 cm. Later second century.
PLATE 9.

Part of a column, containing ll. 646–57 of the *Phoenissae*, and belonging to the same roll as P. Oxy. 224 (now P. Lit. Lond. 76) which preserves ll. 1017–43 and 1064–71. For a description of the MS. see P. Lit. Lond. 76; for the reasons why this MS. is now dated somewhat earlier than it was in the introduction to P. Oxy. 224, see introduction to P. Oxy. 661. The text was not of a very high quality: in two places it shares the errors of other MSS. and also supplies an additional two of its own: it has been collated with the Oxford edition of Murray.

νοτίς ε̣[περχεται γυας]
Διρκας χ̣[λοηφορους]
και βαθυ̣[σπορους γυας]
Βρομιον ε[νθα τεκετο]
ματηρ Διο[ς γαμοισι]
κισσον ὁν [περιστεφης]
ελικτος ευ[θυς ετι βρεφος]
χλοηφόρο[ισιν ερνεσιν]
κ̣αι κατασκ[ιοισιν ολβισας ενωτισεν]

655 [Β]ακχε[ιο]ν χ̣[ορευμα παρθενοισι Θηβαι]
[αι]σ̣[ι και γυναιξιν ενιοις]
. . . .

649 sq. τέκετο μά|τηρ Διὸς κτλ. Murray.
651. κισσον P (*per errorem*): κισσὸς MSS.
652. ελικτος, so all MSS. (ἑ- or ἐ): ἕλικος Hermann and Murray.
654. και: peculiar to the papyrus and metrically inadmissable.
655. βακχειον, so all MSS.: βάκχιον Murray (following Valckenaer). Θηβαίαισι| Murray.

548. THUCYDIDES II.

Acquired in 1917. 5 × 7 cm. Third century.

Part of the right-hand side of a leaf of a papyrus codex, containing part of chapters 3 and 4 of the second book of Thucydides. This small fragment belongs to the same codex and is actually part of the same sheet as P. Genève 2 (published by J. Nicole in 1908), as is clear from the photograph of the latter. It consists of the right-hand part of the second column of one page (the verso) and the left-hand side of the first column of the next page (the recto), thus coming in between fragments (a) and (b) of the Geneva text. Nicole supposed that there were three columns, each of 32 lines, to a page; but as no column can have intervened between verso and recto of our text, and as room must be found for some 38 lines between the end of the verso and the beginning of the recto, we must conclude that, instead of each page having three columns with 32 lines each, there were two columns to the page, each of 48, or perhaps 50 lines (for a similar arrangement, cf. **529** above). So the codex, instead of having its pages broader than they were high—a format of which I know no example, except for the grammatical table, **534**—was of a more normal type; excluding the margins, the measurements would be *circa* 15 × 26 cm.

The hand is of the sloping type common in the third century (but hardly in the second, as Nicole suggests). The end of a sentence in l. 5 is marked by a high point; the beginning of the parenthesis in l. 18 by a middle point. A paragraphus has been inserted below l. 19 to mark the end of a section; in our editions the break is made after ἀπώλλυντο in l. 21, where the papyrus punctuates. The only reading of interest is the correction ὅπερ for ὅσον in l. 22, which is not elsewhere recorded.

This text has been collated by Mr. J. E. Powell for his new edition of the Oxford text of Thucydides, and is referred to, together with the Geneva fragment, as Π^{12}; I am indebted to him for some comments on the text.

Verso.

. . . . . .
[ζυγιων ες τας οδους κ]αθιστα
[μενων ινα αντι τειχο]υς ηι· κα[ι]
[ταλλα εξη]ρτυον η[ι] εκαστο[ν]

[εφαινετο] προς τα παροντα
[ξυμφορο]ν εσεσθαι· επει
[δε ως εκ] των δυνατων
[ετοιμα ην] φυλαξαντες ε
[τι νυκτα κ]αι αυτο το περι
[ορθρον εχω]ρουν εκ των οικι
[ων επ αυτους ο]πως μη κα
[τα φως θαρσαλ]εωτεροις ου
[σι προσφεροιντο και] σφισι[ν]
[εκ του ισου γιγνωνται] αλλ [ε]ν
. . . . . .

Recto.

. . . . . .
[ο]ι [δε κατα πυλας ερημους γυ]
να[ικος δουσης πελεκυν]
λαθ[οντες και διακοψαντες]
τον μοκλ[ο]ν [εξηλθον ου]
πολλοι· αισθ[ησις γαρ ταχει]
α επεγενετ[ο αλλοι δε αλληι]
της πολεως σ[πορα δες απωλ]
λυντο· το δ[ε πλειστον και]
περ
οσον μαλισ[τα ην ξυνεστραμ]
μενον εσ[πιπτουσιν ες οι]
κημα με[γα ο ην του τει]
χους και [αι θυραι ανεωγμε]
ναι [ετ]υ[χον αυτου οιομε]
νοι [πυλας τας θυρας του]
. . . . . .

6. This line with only 16 letters is unusually short and Powell suggests (though the reading is not otherwise known) that the papyrus may have read επειδη δε.

8. The papyrus does not support Ross's correction of και to κατ'.

16. Whether και was omitted (its deletion was suggested by Herwerden) or not cannot be established, as the line may have contained either 19 or 22 letters.

17. l. μοχλ[ὸ]ν ; the confusion between κ and χ is rare.

22. οπερ, to which οσον has been corrected, is a new variant and in itself is an equally likely reading.

549. XENOPHON, *CYROPAEDIA VII, ii.*

Acquired in 1917. 7·3 × 8·8 cm. Third century.

In 1934, G. Manteuffel described in the *Charisteria Gustavo Przychocki*, pp. 108 sq., some fragments of a papyrus codex of Xenophon acquired in the Fayûm in 1932 and now

preserved in the University of Warsaw, which were later published by him (with a plate) as P. Varsov. 1; that the Rylands fragment belongs to the same codex may be regarded as certain, since not only are the hands of the two MSS. to all appearance identical,[1] but the lines are of nearly the same average length, and the estimated size of the page almost the same (I had reckoned with a page 21·5 cm. in height and 13 cm. in width, while Manteuffel's estimate was 20 × 13·5 cm.; the difference in the calculation of height is explained by the fact that more of the margin survives in the Rylands fragment). The coincidence is of some interest since the Warsaw fragments contain passages from Books i, iv, and v, and **549** from Book vii; hence we can assume that the codex included the entire *Cyropaedia*. This gives some support to the rather doubtful reading of the numerals scrawled in badly faded ink by a second and coarser hand at the head of the columns of **549**, since a codex containing the whole of the *Cyropaedia* with 32–35 lines to the page (see Manteuffel, *Charisteria*, p. 111) would consist of about 300 pages, and Book vii would start, on that calculation, near page 225, and the numeration of the pages of the Rylands fragment is 234 and 235. It may be noted that this is a codex of unusual size for the third century (cf. the list of papyrus codices given in C. H. Roberts, *An Unpublished Fragment of the Fourth Gospel*, pp. 32–3). The hand, as already described by Manteuffel, is of the small sloping type and may be assigned to the third century. Pauses are marked by small *paragraphi* and by points (ll. 11 and 24); an apostrophe may be noticed in l. 22 and a rough breathing in l. 19.

There are not many readings of interest in the portion preserved; but, unlike other papyri of the *Cyropaedia* (see P. Oxy. 2101 introd.), **549** does not give unwavering support to the DF recension, although it is perhaps nearer to this than to any other. Agreements of some importance with the HAG recension may be noticed in ll. 19 and 21 and an hitherto unrecorded reading in l. 15. For collation the Oxford text of Marchant has been used.

σ̣λδ̣ Verso.

§ 6, § 7 υ̣μ̣ιν κρειττων εντυχῃ α̣[κουσαντες ταυτα οι Χαλ]
δαιοι εδεισαν τε και ϊκετ[ευον παυσασθαι οργιζομε]
νον κ[αι] τα χρη[μα]τα̣ απ[αντα αποδωσειν εφασαν]
ο δ ειπεν [ο]τι ο̣υδεν αυτ[ων δεοιτο αλλ ει με εφη βου]
5 λεσθε παυσασθαι αχθομε[νον αποδοτε παντα οσα ε]
λαβετε τοις διαφυλαξ[ασι την ακραν ην γαρ αισθων]
ται οι αλλοι στρατιωται ο̣τ̣ι̣ [πλεονεκτουσιν οι ευτα]
§ 8 κτοι γενο̣μενο[ι] παντ[α μοι καλως εξ̃ει οι μεν δη]
Χαλδα̣ιοι ουτως εποιη[σαν ως εκελευσεν ο Κυρος]
10 και ελαβον οι πειθομεν[οι πολλα και παντοια χρημα]
τα· ο δ̣ε Κυρος καταστρα[τοπεδευσας τους εαυτου οπου]
[εδοκ]ει επιτηδειοτατ[ον ειναι της πολεως μενειν επι]
[τοις οπλοις πα]ρηγγ[ειλε και αριστοποιεισθαι]
. . . . . .

[1] In the Rylands fragment the lines are packed rather more closely; but such variations are to be expected (cf. the Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri, fasc. III, supplement, p. ix), especially in the second part of the codex. The fact that the lines in **549** tend to be slightly longer may be explained on the same grounds.

Recto.

σλε

§ 12 [κας υπεσχομην δε σοι αν]τι τουτων η μ̣ην π̣α̣ρ̣ ε̣[κο]ν̣
15 [των Λυδων εσεσθαι παν ο]περ καλον καγαθον εσ̣τ̣ι̣ν̣
§ 13 [εν Σαρδεσιν ην γαρ ταυ]τα ακο̣υ̣[σω]σιν οιδ̣ [ο]τ̣ι̣ η̣[ξ]ει̣
[σοι παν ο τι εστιν ενθαδε] καλον κτημα ανδρι η γυναι
[κι και ομοιως εις νεωτ]α πολλων και καλων παλιν
[σοι πληρης η πολις ⟨εσται⟩ ην] δ̣ε διαρπασηις και α̣ϊ τεχν[αι]
20 [σοι ας πηγας φασι των καλων] ει̣ν̣α̣ι̣ διεφ[θα]ρμεναι̣ [ε]
§ 14 [σονται εξεσται δε σοι ιδο]ν̣τι τα ελθ̣οντα̣ [ε]τ̣ι και περ[ι]
[της αρπαγης βουλευσασθαι] πρωτον δ' εφη ε̣[πι] τους ε
[μους θησαυρους πεμπε κ]αι παραλαμβανε[τ]ωσαν οι
[σοι φυλακες παρα των εμ]ων φυλακων· ταυτα μεν
25 [δη απαντα ουτω συνηινεσ]εν ο Κυρος ποι[ε]ι̣ν̣ [ωσπερ]
§ 15 [ελεξεν ο Κροισος ταδε δε]μ̣οι εφ[η παντως ω Κροισε]
. . . . . .

1. *κρείσσω* HAG.

2. *τε* om. DF.

3. All MSS. here read *χρήματα πάντα*, except DF which omit the *παντα*. In the papyrus we can hardly read *χρηματα απ[οδωσειν*, as that would result in a line of only 30 letters, whereas the average is 39. DF's omission of *πάντα* may have arisen more easily, if the MS. from which they descend read *ἅπαντα*.

12. *τὸ ἐπιτηδειότατον* CAGH. *εἶναι* is omitted by CAEGH and *ἐπί* by HAG. As it stands, our text with 43 letters is rather long and the *ἐπί* may well have been omitted.

14. i.e. *γυναι|κας*.

15. *οπερ*: *ὅ τι* MSS.

16. *ἥξουσι* CAGH.

17. *η*, so DF: *καὶ* other MSS.

19. The length of the line makes it practically certain that *ἔσται* was omitted, with HAG; by DF it is placed after *πλήρης*.

21. *τα*, so HAG: *ταῦτα* CE and DF.

23. *θησαυρους* om. DF. From the length of the gap it must have been present in our text.

παραλαμβανετωσαν: this is the reading of all MSS., the earliest of which, H, is of the twelfth century, and it is interesting to find it supported by an early witness. Editors follow Dindorf in restoring *παραλαμβανόντων*.

25. *απαντα* CAEGH (corr.): *πάντα* H (pr.) and DF. *συνηινεσεν ο Κυρος ποιειν*, so DF: *συνήνεσε ποιεῖν ὁ Κῦρος* other MSS.

26. *εφη παντως*, so DF: *πάντως ἔφη* other MSS.

550. [DEMOSTHENES], Κατὰ Θεοκρίνου.

Acquired in 1920. 8·4 × 17 cm. Second century. PLATE 8.

This is the first time that this speech, mistakenly placed in the Demosthenic corpus, has appeared in the papyri. The attack on Demosthenes in §§ 42–4 leaves no doubt that he

was not the author and, according to the hypothesis of Libanius, many in antiquity attributed it to Dinarchus; that it should appear at this period in Egypt perhaps suggests that it had already usurped a place among Demosthenes' speeches.

The present fragment contains part of two columns written along the fibres in a good book-hand of the second century, and early rather than late in the century. The columns were narrow and contained (to judge from the amount of text missing between col. i and col. ii) 28 lines each. The end of a sentence is marked by a high point in l. 13 and the end of a clause by a low point in l. 17; a paragraphus was placed under the line at the end of a section. The lower margin measures 5 cm.: the height of the roll would have been *c.* 25 cm. The verso is blank.

Col. i.

. . . [νο]
μ̣ιζων δειν τους
μ̣εν αλλους τους οφει
[λ]ο̣ντας μηδενος μ̣ε
[τ]ε̣χειν των κοινω̣ν
[αυ]τον δε κρειττω
[τ]ων νομων ειναι·
φησει τοινυν τον παπ § 16
πον ουχ αυτον ειναι
[τ]ο̣ν εν [τωι] γραμ[μα]
[τ]ειωι γεγ[ρ]α̣μμε[νον]
και περι τουτου πολ
[λ]ους ερει λογους ως
[ε]κεινος εστιν· εγω δε
[το] μεν ακριβες οπο̣[τε]
[ρο]ς εστιν ουκ εχω λ̣[ε]
[γε]ιν· ει δ ουν εστι̣ν
[ω]ς ουτος ερει . πολυ δι̣
[κ]α̣ιοτερον ειναι νο
[μ]ιζω καταψηφισασ̣
[θα]ι υμας αυτου ει ταυ

Col. ii.

α̣[νδρες δικασται]
ω[ς ουν και παρ αυτου]
Θ[εοκρινου ομολο]
[γειται . . . . . .]
[*c.* 15 letters]
[,,]
[,,]
[,,]
β̣[ουλομενοις ευορ]
κε[ιν ου καλως εχει]
τα[υτην απογιγνω]
σκ[ειν την ενδειξιν]
λα[βε μοι το ψηφισμα]
ο ει[πε εν τοις φυλε]
ταιι̣[ς Σκιρωνιδης]
ελθ[ων γαρ ουτοσι] § 18

20. The papyrus agrees with the majority of MSS. in reading ταυ[θ] (or ταυ[τα]) against the τοῦθ' of D.
21. This line is on a level with l. 5 in col. i.
35. With S and D, the papyrus omitted ψηφισμα after Σκιρωνιδης.
36. προσελθὼν codd. That the papyrus had this reading is highly unlikely, as not only would it make the previous line too long, but would also involve a false division.

551. LYCURGUS, Κατὰ Λεωκράτους.

Acquired in 1917. Oxyrhynchus. 5·4 × 7·3 cm. Late second century. PLATE 4.

This is the first fragment of the Κατὰ Λεωκράτους (the author's only extant oration) to appear among the papyri.[1] It is unfortunate that such an early witness to a none too sound text (cf. Blass's introduction to the Teubner ed.) should not include any of the more disputed passages; a new reading may be noticed in l. 3. The text is written along the fibres in a rather large, but delicate book-hand; lines and letters are well spaced and there is a slight slope to the right. It may be regarded as the precursor of the broad third-century sloping type as seen in P. Oxy. 23, and dated perhaps near the close of the second century.

. . . . . [δεηθεις του κη]
δεστ[ου πριασθαι παρ αυτου] § 22
τανδ̣ρ̣α̣π̣ο̣[δα και την οικι]
αν αποδιδ[οσθαι ταλαντου]
και α̣π̣[ο τ]ουτ[ου προσετα]
ξεν τοις τε χρη[σταις απο]
δουναι τα οφειλ[ομενα]
και τους ερανους̣ [διενεγ]
κειν το δε λοι[πον αυτω]
αποδουναι [δ]ι̣[οικησας] § 23
δε ταυτα παν̣[τα ο Αμυν]
τα[ς]
. . . . .

1. This line, with 22 letters, is longer than any other; that the text differed from that of the codd. is unlikely.

3. αποδοσθαι codd. Probably αποδιδ[οσθαι not αποδιδ[οναι should be supplied, although the latter suits the space slightly better, since, though ἀποδιδόναι is found in Attic with a middle sense, it is not so used by the orators.

9. It is a little doubtful whether [δ]ι̣[οικησας should be read here: the last visible letter has a small hook to the right and resembles a γ rather than an ι.

[1] A fragment (P. Berol. 11748) of the lost Κατὰ Μενεσαίχμου was published by W. Crönert in the *Nachrichten der Göttingen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1922, pp. 45–6.

INDICES[1]

I. NEW THEOLOGICAL TEXTS (GREEK)

(The Biblical quotations in **469** are not included)

ἀγαλλίασις **471.** 1.
ἀγαπᾶν **463.** 25.
ἀγαπητός **469.** 42.
ἄγειν **466.** 18 (?).
ἅγιος **466.** 14 (see note); **467.** 4; **468** (*b*). 7; **471.** 1.
ἁγνός **466.** 13.
ἀδελφός **463.** 5; **469.** 41.
ἀεί **463.** 19; **467.** 8.
ἀθλεῖν **468** (*b*). 4 (?).
αἷμα **469.** 34
αἱρεῖν (prob. a compound) **469.** 48.
αἰσχύνειν **463.** 25.
αἴτιος **469.** 45.
αἰών, **463.** 2.
ἀκούειν **463.** 14.
ἀλλά **469** [19]; **470.** 7.
ἄλλος **469.** 25.
ἁμαρτία **470.** [3].
ἀμήν **471.** 6.
ἀναίτιος, -ως **469.** 26.
ἀνάπαυσις **463.** 2.
ἀνάστασις **466.** 18.
Ἀνδρέας **463.** 5.
ἄνθρωπος **463.** 27; **466.** 24, 32; **469.** 28.
ἀνιστάναι (-στῆναι) **466.** 10, 26; **468** (*a*). 1.
ἀντικεῖσθαι **463.** 21; **471.** 2.
ἀνυμνεῖν **467.** 6.
ἀξιόλογος **463.** 15.
ἄξιος **463.** 22.
ἀπαρχή **466.** 39.
ἀπάτη **469.** 31.
ἀπέρχεσθαι **463.** 32.
ἀπό **469.** 15, 29, 33.
ἀπολογία **469.** 28.
ἀποστολικός **471.** 5.
ἄρτι **463.** 20.
ἄρτος **469.** 27.
ἄρχειν **463.** 32.
ἀσπάζεσθαι **469.** 41.
ἀσφαλῶς **463.** 24.
αὐτός **463.** 21, 22, 23, 24; **466.** 34; **469.** 12, [17], 28, 32, 33, 34.
ἄφεδρος **469.** 34.
ἄφεσις **470.** 3.

Βαβυλών **466.** 2.
βάλλειν **469.** [25].
βασιλεία **468** (*a*). 10.
βασιλ[**468** (*b*). 4.
βδέλυγμα **469.** 24.

Γαλιλαία **466.** 10.
γαμεῖν **469.** 13.
γάμος **469.** [13].
γάρ **463.** 8, 9, 24.
γένος **466.** 25, 32.
γίγνεσθαι **466.** 39, 40.
γιγνώσκειν **469.** 26.
γραφή **469.** 15.
γυνή **463.** 13, 21; **466.** 30.

δέ **469.** 14.
δηλονότι **469.** 23, 33.
δῆλος **469.** 9, [15], 16.
διά **466.** 8, 23; **469.** 33.
διδόναι **466.** 28.
δοκεῖν **463.** 6, 9.
δόξα **466.** 2, 6, 9; **468** (*b*). 9.
δοξάζειν **467.** 3.
δρόμος **463.** 1; **468** (*a*). 7.
δροσίζειν **466.** 4.

ἐγείρειν **466.** 38.
ἔγγραφον **469.** 30.
ἐγκεντρισμός **471.** 3.
ἐγώ, ἡμεῖς **463.** 7; **469.** 25, 41; **463.** 28; **466.** 8, 24; **467.** 11; **469.** 37; **470.** 8.
ἐθέλειν **469.** 7, 35.
εἰ **463.** 22.
εἰδέναι **463.** 24.
εἰκότως **469.** 26.
εἶναι **463.** 23; **469.** 4, 9, [17], 24, 26, 28.
εἰπεῖν, see λέγειν.
εἰρήνη **466.** 28.
εἰς **466.** 1, 22; **469.** 25, 32, 34.
εἷς **467.** 5.
εἰσδύνειν **469.** 31.
ἐκ **466.** 10, 25, 38; **468** (*a*). 1; **469.** [15]; **470.** 7.
ἐκεῖ **466.** 2.
ἐκεῖνος **463.** 10, 24, 27.

ἐκκλησία **471.** 5.
ἐκλεκτή **469.** 32.
ἑκούσιος, -ως **466.** 7.
ἔλαιον **471.** 1.
ἐλεεῖν **467.** 11.
ἔλεος **467.** 12.
ἐμός **470.** [4].
ἐν **463.** 2; **466.** 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 25, 28, 30, [32], 36; **467.** 5; **469.** 24 29, 31, 33, 42; **470.** 6.
ἔνδοξος **466.** 37.
ἐνδύειν **463.** 26.
ἐνεργεία **471.** 3.
ἔννοια **463.** 10.
ἐξετάζειν **463.** 12.
ἐξολεθρεύειν **469.** 49.
ἐξουθενεῖν **463.** 23.
ἐπαοιδή **469.** 24.
ἐπεί **469.** 27.
ἐπί **468** (*a*). 5.
ἐπιποθεῖν **466.** 17.
ἐπιτηρεῖν **469.** 31.
ἐπουράνιος **466.** 15.
ἔργον **466.** 5, 12, 16; **469.** 28.
ἐς **468** (*b*). 7.
ἑτερογνωμονεῖν **463.** 9.
εὐαγγέλιον **463.** 29, 33.
εὐλογεῖν **466.** 1, 5, 12, 16, 31.
εὔσπλαγχνος **470.** 2 (?).
εὔχεσθαι **469.** 42.
ἔχειν **469.** 33.

ζῆλος **469.** 8.

ἡγεῖσθαι **463.** 22.
ἦχος **466.** 1.

θάνατος **468** (*a*). 2.
θεῖος **469.** 15.
θέλειν, see ἐθέλειν.
θεός **466.** 1, 2, 6, 9, 27, 31; **469.** 37.
θεότης **467.** 5.
θεοτόκος **466.** 13; **470.** 4.
θρόνος **466.** 15.

Ἰησοῦς **466.** 18.
ἱκεσία **470.** 5.
ἵνα **463.** 14; **469.** 31.

[1] Where the line number is in square brackets, the word in question has been supplied.

Ἰσραήλ **466**. 13.

καθαρεύειν **469**. 42.
καιρός **463**. 1.
καθολικός **471**. 4.
κακός **469**. 6, [15].
καλλιέλαιος **471**. 4.
κάλος **468** (*a*). 7; **469**. 11.
καλῶς **469**. 13.
κάμινος **466**. 3.
κατά **463**. [33]; **467**. 11; **470**. 3; **471**. 2.
κατακρίνειν **469**. 17 (?).
καταρτᾶν **468** (*a*). 3.
καταφρονεῖν **468** (*a*). 9.
καταψεύδεσθαι **469**. 12 (?).
κηρύσσειν **463**. 28, 32.
κίνδυνος **470**. 7.
κλίβανον **469**. 25.
κολάζειν **469**. 19.
κράτος **468** (*a*). 2.
κρείσσων **469**. [14].
κτίσις **469**. 17, [24].
κύριος **466**. 5, 12, 16, 23, 34; **467**. 13; **468** (*a*). 1, (*b*). 9; **469**. 24, 42.

λάθρᾳ **463**. 13.
λαλεῖν **463**. 7, 13; **469**. 35.
λαός **468** (*a*). 4, (*b*). 6.
λέγειν (εἰπεῖν) **463**. 3, 5, 9, 18, 30, 31; **466**. 5, 12, 16, 34; **469**. 14, 32.
Λευείς **463**. 18, 31.
λόγος **469**. 31.
λοιπός **463**. 1.

μαθητής **466**. 11, 27.
μακάριος **466**. 30.
μάλιστα **469**. 27, 32.
μᾶλλον **463**. 25.
μανθάνειν **469**. 15.
μανία **469**. 26, 28, 30, 34.
Μανιχεύς **469**. 12, 23, 27, 30.
Μαριά **466**. 19; **467**. 9.
Μαριάμμη **463**. 3, [33].
μάρτυς **466**. 37.
μεγαλύνειν **466**. 22, 25, 28, 32.
μέγας **467**. 12.
μέν **463**. 7, 32.
μέχρι, μ. ὧδε **463**. 4.
μή **469**. 13, 35; **470**. 5.
μηδέ **463**. 30.
μηδείς **463**. 29.
μήν **469**. 18.
μήτρα **466**. 13.
μισεῖν **469**. 16.
μνήμη **468** (*a*). 5.
μοιχεύειν **469**. 14.
μόνος **470**. 9.
μύσαγμα **469**. 34.

ναί **467**. 13.
νεκρός **466**. 10, 25, 38; **468** (*a*). [2].
νομοθετεῖν **463**. 30.
νομοθέτης **469**. 47.

ὅθεν **469**. 26.
οἰκία **469**. 32.
ὁρᾶν **466**. 3, 11, 27; **468** (*a*). 8 (?).
ὀργίλος **463**. 19.
ὁρίζειν **463**. 29.
ὅς **466**. 4, 8, 11, 13, 15; **469**. 15, 33, 35. ᾗ **469**. 16.
ὅσπερ **469**. [18].
ὅτε **469**. 4.
ὅτι **469**. 14, 16, 23, 26.
οὐ, οὐκ **463**. 8; **469**. 3, 6 (?), 18.
οὐδέ **469**. 25.
οὐράνιος **467**. 10.
οὐρανός **466**. 14.
οὗτος **463**. 2, 8, 31; **469**. 25, 29, 50.
οὕτως **463**. 20; **469**. 19.

παῖς **466**. 4, 8, 11, 15.
πάλιν **469**. 12.
πανάγαθος **469**. 37.
πανάγιος **469**. 37.
πανένδοξος **468** (*a*). 6.
πάντως **463**. 24.
παρά **469**. 32.
παρακεῖσθαι **463**. 19.
παρατιθέναι **469**. 29.
παρεμπίπτειν **469**. 30.
παρέχειν **469**. 36.
παρθένος **467**. 8; **470**. [2].
παρορᾶν **470**. 5.
πᾶς **463**. 14; **466**. 24; **467**. 2, 7 (?); **471**. 2.
πάσχειν **466**. 8.
Παῦλος **469**. 14.
περί **463**. 6, 11.
περίστασις **470**. 6.
Πέτρος **463**. 18, 19.
πιστεύειν **463**. 8.
πιστός **467**. 2.
πλάγιος **466**. 1.
πλατύς **466**. 14.
πληροῦν **469**. 26, 28.
ποιεῖν **463**. 28; **469**. 11, 13, [14], 19 (?).
πολύς **469**. 26, 28.
πονηρία **469**. 10, 50.
πονηρός **469**. 19.
πορνεύειν **469**. 14.
πρᾶγμα **463**. 11.
προλαμβάνειν **466**. 19.
προλέγειν (-ειπεῖν) **469**. 29.
πρός **469**. 27; **471**. 3.
προσηλοῦν **466**. 7.
προσκυνεῖν **468** (*a*). 4 (see note); **469**. 23 (?).
προστάσσειν **463**. 27; **469**. 19.
πῦρ **466**. 4.

ῥύεσθαι **470**. 8.
ῥωννύναι (ἔρρωσθαι) **469**. 42.

σάρξ **466**. 7.
σεβάζεσθαι **469**. 17.
σιγή **463**. 2.
σιωπᾶν **463**. 3.
σός **463**. 8.
σταῦρος **466**. 6.
σταυροῦν **466**. 23; **468** (*b*). 8.
στρατηλάτης **466**. 36.
σύ, ὑμεῖς **463**. 6, 19, 23; **466**. 23, 26, 30; **467**. 12; **468** (*b*). 3, 9; **469**. 38, 41, 42; **471**. 4.
σύν **466**. 1; **469**. 41.
συνάγειν **467**. 1.
συνάντησις **466**. 17.
συνζητεῖν **463**. 20.
σύντομος **469**. 29.
σώζειν **469**. 38.
σωτήρ **463**. 4, 8, 12, 18, 22, 31.
σωτηρία **466**. 23.

τέλειος **463**. 27.
τιμή **469**. 33.
τις **463**. [15].
τίς **463**. 6, 23.
τοιγαροῦν **469**. 36.
τοιοῦτος **463**. 11.
τριάς **467**. 4.
τριήμερος **466**. 9, 38.

ὑμνεῖν **466**. 5, 8, 12, 16.
ὕμνος **466**. 25, 28, 32.
ὑπέρ **468** (*b*). 6.
ὑπό **466**. 31; **469**. 5.
ὑψηλός **466**. 22.
ὕψιστος **466**. 2, 6, 9.

φαγεῖν **469**. 26.
φανερός, -ῶς **463**. 13.
φέρειν **469**. 25.
φλόξ **466**. 3.

χαίρειν **466**. 13, 14.
χερουβίμ **466**. 22.
χόρος **467**. 9.
χρῄζειν **469**. 33.
Χριστός **466**. 18, 38.
χρόνος **463**. 1.

ψευδής **469**. 31.

ὧδε, μέχρι ὧδε **463**. 4.
ὡς **463**. 4, 21, 30; **469**. [13], 29.

II. NEW LATIN TEXTS

a, ab **474.** 13.
accipere **474.** 1.
ad **477.** 53 margin.
adsciscere **473.** 29.
Afer **473.** 12.
afficere **472.** 21.
algosus **473.** 8.
alienus **474.** 10.
alius **473.** 31; **477.** 62 margin.
almus **472.** 23.
altercari **477.** 45.
amittere **473.** 5.
an **473.** 26 (?), 28.
anima **472.** 33.
appellatio **474.** 18, 19.
appella[**480.** 4.
aqua **472.** 12.
armare **473.** 5.
ascensus **472.** 28.
aspector **472.** 19 (see note).
aspicere **472.** 15.
assentiri **474.** 10.
audire **472.** 15.
aut **473.** 7, 34.
autem **474.** 1.

Balarus **473.** 29.
barba **473.** 36.
bellum **473.** 37.
benedictio **472.** 19.

Caecilius **477.** 5.
caelum **472.** 17.
caligo **472.** 36.
Celtibericus **473.** 37.
cen[**472.** 12 (?).
clarus **472.** 35 (?).
commodare **474.** 7.
communis **477.** 12 margin.
considerare **476.** 34.
conso[**476.** 40.
constituere **474.** 4 (?), 5 (?).
contractus **474.** 13.
corripere **473.** 16.
Corsus **473.** 30.
credere **474.** 13.
crimen **477.** 12 margin.
culpa **474.** 15 (?).
cultus **473.** 36.
cum **474.** 4; **477.** 44.
cumulare **476.** 39.

Daedalus **473.** 42.
dare **474.** 15.
de **473.** [33]; **474.** [7], 8.
debere (debitum) **474.** 1, 2.
dein **473.** 13.
delegare **475.** 10.
designare **472.** 31.
designatio **472.** 19.
dextra **472.** 16.
de[**476.** 39.
dicere **474.** 14; **477.** 9 margin.
dies **472.** 11.
dissolutio **472.** 26.
diu **473.** 9.
dolor **473.** 4.
dominus **472.** 21, 30.
dulcis **472.** 1.
dure **476.** 16.

e, ex **473.** 15, [42]; **474.** 13.
edicere **474.** 8.
ego, nos **472.** 7, 17, 20, 22, 30, 38 (?).
emere **474.** 22 (?).
esse **472.** 16, 34; **473.** 15, 17; **474.** 4 (?), 15 margin; **477.** 2 margin, 12 margin, 13 margin.
et **472.** 13 (?), 15, 18, 19 (?), 35, 36; **473.** 4, 12, 14, 37; **474.** 7, 8, 17.
evangelium **472.** 13.
evolare **473.** 6.
exercitus **473.** 33.
explicare **472.** 40.

facies **472.** 10.
favor **472.** 11.
ferre **477.** 13 margin.
fideicommissarius **475.** 3.
fides **474.** 11.
fili[**481.** 1.
forma **472.** 36.
fortuna **473.** 13.
fremere **472.** 6 (? see note).
frumentum **472.** 6 (? see note).
frux, fruges **472.** 2.

generalis **474.** 15 margin (? see note).
gene[**472.** 3.
gens **473.** 29.
genus **473.** 10, 33.
gladiator **477.** 53 margin.
gloria **472.** 2.
Graecus **473.** 11.
gubernare **472.** 23.

haustus **472.** 12.
hic **472.** 24, 25; **474.** 13; **477.** 2 margin.
hilarus **472.** 5.
Hispania **473.** 18.
Hispanus **473.** 32.
hostis **473.** 10.
humanus **472.** 25.
humare **473.** 14.

imago **472.** 5, 9.
impellere **473.** 9.
impotens **472.** 32.
in (with acc.) **473.** 8, 18.
in (with abl.) **472.** 34; **473.** 4; **474.** 20.
incertus **473.** 27.
incipio (inceptum) **473.** 17.
index **477.** 12 margin.
indicium **477.** 13 margin.
infidus **473.** 35.
infirmitas **472.** 36 (?).
ingenium **473.** 34.
inter **472.** 30.
intus **472.** 16.
Iolaus **473.** 26.
ira **473.** 4, [43].
is **473.** 9; **480.** 3.

lex **477.** 13 margin.
liberare **472.** 25.
litus **473.** 8.
lux **472.** 22, 27.

magnificentia **472.** 22.
manducare **472.** 3.
manere **473.** 10.
manifestus **477.** 2 margin.
Maximus **476.** 34.
memoria **472.** 21.
mens **472.** 35.
metus **473.** 35.
Minos **473.** [43].
mirabilis **472.** 2 (?).
misereri **472.** 38 (?).
missio **472.** 9.
mittere **472.** 20.
mobilis **473.** 34.
morbus **472.** 33.
mox **474.** 12.
munimen **472.** 21.

nam **474.** 5, 9, 18; **477.** 13 margin.
nare **473.** 7.
navis **473.** 6.
ne **474.** [20].
negotiatio **472.** 24.
neque **473.** 9.
noscere **473.** 36.
noster **472.** 1, 18, 35, 36, 38 (?).
novus **472.** 18.
nullus **473.** 16.
Numida **473.** 31.

oblatio **472.** 11.
oblivio **472.** 34.
oboedientia **472.** 1 (?).
obscurus **477.** 4.
occasio **472.** 28.
octavus **472.** 29.
omnis **472.** 16 (?); **473.** 14.

Pallanteus **473.** 31.
pars **473.** 7, 32.
pater **472.** 7, 14, 22; **475.** 13, 15 margin.
patrare **473.** 17.
patrimonium **474.** 20.
pax **472.** 16.
pecunia **474.** 17, 19 (?).
per **476.** 39.
pergere **473.** 18.
pertinere **477.** 53 margin.
pes **472.** 15.
petitio **477.** 53 margin.
pignus **474.** [8].
Poenus **473.** 33.
posse **474.** 16.
prae **475.** 10.
praetor **474.** 7.
principalis **472.** 9 (?).
pro **473.** 13.
proficisci **473.** 42.
propinquus **473.** 15.
proprie **477.** 53 margin.
proprietas **472.** 7 (?).
proprius **472.** 8 (?).
prudentia **472.** 4.
puer **472.** 31.
puppis **473.** 8.
putare **473.** 32.

que **472.** 28.
qui **472.** 3, 8, 10, 23, 30, 32, 34; **473.** 15; **474.** [12]; **477.** 44.
quicumque **474.** 9.
quisquis **474.** 20.
quo **473.** [43].

recipere **474.** 12.
rectus **472.** 27.
refercire (refertus) **473.** 3.
reparare **476.** 4.
res **474.** 10.
rescribere (rescriptum) **476.** 7.

Sab( ) **475.** 15 (see note).
saeculum **472.** 29.
sanctificare **472.** 27 (?).
sanctus **472.** 10, 14, 17.
scapha **473.** 7.
se **472.** 10; **477.** 32 margin.
semermis **473.** 12.
senator **477.** 13 margin.
sequi **474.** 11.
Sicilia **473.** [42].
significare **474.** 21.
socius **473.** 5, 13, 35.
spes **472.** 13; **473.** 17.
super **472.** 18.
synallagma **474.** 15 margin (? see note).

talis **473.** 5.
terra **472.** 18.
testator **475.** 16 margin.
testimonium **473.** 28.
trabea **472.** 20.
transfuga **473.** 30.
trepidus (-issimus) **473.** 11.
tu **472.** 16, 17, 21.
tum **480.** 1 (?).
tuus **472.** 21, 22.

ubi **473.** 16.
usus **473.** 15.
ut **474.** 16 (?).
uti **474.** 18.
utrum **477.** 32 margin.

verbum **474.** 15 margin.
Verres **477.** 5.
vestis **473.** 36.
vetare **477.** 13 margin.
victus **472.** 4.
vincere **472.** 8.
vinculum **472.** 25 (?).
virgo **472.** 14.
vis **472.** 27.
vita **472.** 13.
vivere **472.** 2, 12 (?).
Vivianus **475.** 11, 12.

III. NEW CLASSICAL TEXTS

(including Greek words in the Latin texts and new readings among the fragments of extant authors)

ἀγαθός **508.** 13; **512.** 10.
ἄγαλμα **504.** 12.
ἀγγέλλειν **491.** 43.
ἄγε **482.** [16].
ἄγειν **478.** 133; **490.** 69.
ἀγέλη **487.** 34.
ἀγκυροβολεῖν **545.** 137.
ἀγορεύειν **487.** 6; **540.** xxi. 33 (?).
ἀγός **482.** 7 (?).
ἀγών **489.** [49], 73.
ἀδελφή **475.** 19 margin.
ἀδελφός **475.** 16 margin.
ἀδικεῖν **489.** 48, 80, 95.
ἀδίκημα **477.** 31.
ἀδίκως **489.** 72.
ἀεί **483.** 5; **493.** 88.
ἀθάνατος **487.** 6.
ἀθεμίτως **478.** 41.
Ἀθηναῖοι **490.** 9, 25, [28], 45, [60].
ἄθλημα **487.** 21.
ἆθλον **477.** 37 margin.
Ἄθως **492.** 44.
Αἴας **507.** 1, 3.
αἰγίοχος **487.** 7.
Αἰνείας **478.** 94.

αἰνῶς **486.** 9 (?).
αἴξ **487.** 7.
αἱρεῖν (-εῖσθαι) **476.** 10 (?); **478.** [105].
αἰσχύνειν (-εσθαι) **493.** 121.
αἰτιᾶσθαι **493.** 74.
αἰχμαλωσία **491.** 6 (?).
αἰχμάλωτος **490.** 52.
ἀκάνθινος **478.** 145.
ἀκέραιος **520.** 3 (?).
ἀκούειν **478.** [66]; **485.** 5; **491.** 7; **540.** xxi. 33 (?).
ἀκρόπολις **478.** 92, [102].
ἀκτή **478.** [112].
ἁλᾶσθαι **487.** 25.
ἀληθής **478.** 66; **512.** 5.
ἁλίσκεσθαι **489.** 95.
ἀλλά **476.** 38; **477.** (10), (26); **478.** [71], 119; **485.** 8; **487.** 26; **489.** 62; **510.** r. 8.
ἀλλαγή **489.** 92 (?).
ἄλλος **487.** 27; **490.** [50], 54 (?); **493.** 19, 35, 45, 78, 119 (?).
ἀλλότριος **477.** 16 margin.
ἄλφα **485.** 7.
ἅμα **513.** 8.

Ἀμάλθεια **487.** 7.
ἁμαρτάνειν **477.** (2), (7), (15), (26); **482.** 9; **493.** 73.
ἁμάρτημα **477.** (6), (21).
ἀμβλύνειν **477.** 6 margin.
ἀμβρόσιος **499.** 4.
ἀμνηστεῖν **482.** 13.
ἀμφί **487.** 27.
ἀμφότερος **491.** 44.
ἄν **482.** 12; **484.** 5; **489.** 81, 97, 110; **493.** 12; **505.** 9.
ἄν (ἐάν) **510.** r. 3.
ἀναβαίνειν **493.** 38.
ἀνάγειν **478.** 101.
ἀναγιγνώσκειν **478.** 56.
ἀνάγκη **510.** r. 6.
ἀναγράφειν **501.** 16 (?).
ἀναδιδόναι **475.** 4.
ἀνακαλεῖν **478.** 3.
ἀναλίσκειν **489.** 70.
ἀνάξιος **489.** 97.
ἀναφύειν **493.** 107, 109.
ἀνδάνειν **486.** 4.
ἀνδροφάγος **487.** 5.
ἀνέρχεσθαι **478.** 87.
ἀνήρ **478.** 19; **482.** 15, 18; **485.** 8;

487. 10, 16; **489.** 42, 50, 77, 109; **493.** 112.
ἀνθιστάναι **501.** 5.
ἄνθρωπος **478.** 49; **493.** 89, 92, 154.
ἀνοσίως **484.** 3 (?).
'Αντήνωρ **478.** 24.
ἀντί **483.** 5 margin; **491.** 40. *ἀντὶ τοῦ* **475.** 4.
ἀντιᾶν **486.** 5.
ἀντισταθμοῦσθαι **478.** 17.
'Αντιφάτης **487.** 5.
ἀνώνυμος **540.** xxi. 32.
ἀξιοῦν **489.** 62.
ἀπάγειν **489.** 113; **505.** 15.
ἀπαιτεῖν **491.** 37 (?).
'Απάμα **510.** v. 9.
ἅπας **477.** 9 margin.
ἀπέχειν **493.** 119.
ἄπιστος **487.** 22.
ἀπό **477.** 34 margin; **478.** 1, 4, 138; **482.** 12; **485.** 5; **487.** 36; **489.** 99; **491.** 13, 18; **493.** 113, 118; **540.** xxi. 33.
ἀποβλέπειν **492.** 30.
ἀπογράφειν **475.** 5 (?).
ἀποδεικνύναι **489.** 111.
ἀποδιδόναι **478.** 67.
ἀποκρίνεσθαι **493.** 86.
ἀποκτείνειν **490.** 7, 21.
ἀπολλύναι **478.** 40.
'Απόλλων **498.** 11.
ἀπολογεῖσθαι **489.** 59 (?), 99.
ἀπολογία **489.** 35.
ἀπολύειν **489.** 107.
ἀποπέμπειν **478.** 112.
ἀποστέλλειν **490.** 59; **491.** 39.
ἀποτιθέναι **478.** 47.
ἀποφαίνειν **489.** 94.
ἀποφέρειν **491.** 15.
ἄρα **482.** [19].
'Αργεῖοι **521.** 8 (?).
ἄργυρος **504.** 10.
ἄρουρα **487,** 8.
ἁρπάζειν **478.** 137.
Ἄρσης **490.** 73 (?).
'Αρτοξέρξης **490.** 71, 75.
ἄρτος **484.** 4.
ἄρχειν **489.** 113; **490.** [9].
ἀρχή **476.** 42; **478.** 109; **489.** 112.
ἄρχων **476.** 9, 12, 40.
'Ασκάνιος **478.** 133.
ἀσπάζεσθαι **493.** 81.
ἀσπίς **493.** 102.
ἀστήρ **486.** 6.
ἀστός **482.** 10.
ἄστυ **489.** 40.
ἀσυγχώρητος **478.** 151.
ἀτάρ **493.** 49, 91, 125. *ἀτὰρ οὖν* **493.** 125.
'Ατέας **490.** [7].
ἀτραπός **478.** 85.
αὖ **477.** 16 margin; **493.** 3; **507.** 1.
αὖλαξ **478.** 108.
αὐλωδία **500.** 1 (?).
αὐξάνειν **488.** 34 (?); **493.** 112; **499.** 12.
αὐτίκα **477.** 37 margin (?).
αὐτός **476.** 10, 12; **477.** (26), (31); **478.** 132; **482.** 19; **484.** 12; **489.** 99, 114; **490.** 6, 19, 32 (?), 57 (?), 73 (?); **491.** 15, 17, 37; **493.** 41, 84, 111; **501.** 8; **507.** 11; **510.** v. 8 (?), 11 (?); **540.** xxi. 31.
αὐτός, ὁ, ἡ, τό **478.** 18.
αὐτοῦ **540.** xxi. 28.
ἀφαρπάζειν **478.** 83; **487.** 4.
ἄφθιτος **496.** 5.
ἀφιέναι **490.** 54 (?).
ἄφνω **482.** 5; **493.** 82.
'Αφροδίτη **478.** [71].
'Αχαιός **478.** 26.
'Αχιλλεύς **495.** 2 (?).

βάλανος **493.** 39, 40.
βάρβαρος **492.** 31.
βασίλειον **478.** 46.
βασιλεύς **478.** 23; **490.** 6 (?), 72.
βασιλικός **478.** 121.
βέλος **492.** 11.
βῆτα **485.** 6.
βλέπειν **497.** 13.
Βοιωτία **490.** 11 (?).
βουκόλος **487.** 30.
βούλεσθαι **477.** (22), (27); **489.** 41.
βουλεύειν **489.** 112.
βουλή **493.** 111.
βοῦς **478.** [113]; **487.** 25.
βραχύς **505.** 2 (?), 5 (?).
βρότος **496.** 9 (?).
βῶλος **487.** 15.

γαμεῖν **492.** 29.
γάμος **475.** 19 margin.
γάρ **475.** 5; **476.** 11; **477.** 17 margin, (25), (30), (31); **482.** 7, 10, [13]; **484.** 12, 15; **485.** [4]; **486.** 9; **489.** [60], 65, 100; **497.** 11, 13; **510.** r. 3; **539.** 108.
γε **487.** 22; **507.** 8.
γεννήτωρ **478.** 11.
γένος **493.** 110.
γῆ **486.** [7]; **492.** 64, [67].
γίγνεσθαι **476.** 43; **486.** 2; **487.** 31; **489.** 119; **490.** 4; **493.** 101; **507.** 3; **510.** v. 7, 11.
γιγνώσκειν **489.** 50 (?), 77; **492.** 65; **493.** 3.
γλαῦξ **493.** 116, 118.
γλυκύς **515.** 3.
γνάθος **482.** 12.
γνήσιος **540.** xxi. 20.
γνώμη **478.** 10; **493.** [55], 72, 129.
γοῦν **489.** 47.
γυνή **475.** 12; **498.** 4.

δαίμων **485.** 6.
δάκνειν **482.** 11.
δέ **476.** 36; **477.** 12, 16 margin, (24); **482.** [12], 14, [19]; **483.** 10; **486.** 2; **488.** 24; **489.** 46, 91, 98, 113, **490.** 14, 22, [23], [27], 50, 54, [57], [60], [64], [75]; **491.** 21; **492.** 17; **493.** 23, 26, 36, 40, 43, 79, 81, 111, 112, 114, 120, 123; **498.** 9; **503.** 4; **504.** 9, 11; **505.** 18; **506.** 10; **507.** 3; **512.** 9; **513.** 7; **518.** 2; **540.** xxi. 33.
δεῖν **490.** [53].
δεινός **493.** 115.
δεῖπνον **493.** 79.
δεξία **478.** 63, 64.
δεῦρο **487.** 36.
δή **478.** 119.
δηλοῦν **478.** 86.
Δημήτηρ **494.** 2.
δημοσίᾳ **489.** 45.
δημόσιος **476.** 39 (?).
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διάγραμμα **504.** 12 (?).
διαδιδόναι **490.** 55 (?).
διάδοχος **510.** v. 6.
διαζευγνύναι **478.** 44.
δίαιτα **489.** 115.
διαλέγεσθαι **510.** v. 2.
διάταξις **476.** 36.
διατρείβειν **493.** 89.
διαφθείρειν **493.** 42.
διδάσκειν **477.** 8 margin.
διδόναι **478.** 22, 32, [65]; **485.** 10; **489.** 76; **490.** 35 (?); **491.** 3; **493.** 139; **517.** r. 2; **539.** 110.
δικαστής **476.** 11; **489.** 42, [51], 77, 110.
δίκη **482.** [8].
διοικεῖν **491.** 24.
διότι **478.** 63.
δοκεῖν **515.** 2.
δόμος **482.** 10 (?).
δόξα **477.** 41 margin.
δρῦς **493.** 38, 107, [112], 113; **497.** 9.
δρῦς **493.** 38, 107, [112], 113; **497.** 9.
δύνασθαι **477.** (29), (31); **478.** 24; **489.** 78, 111.
δύο **477.** (2), (15).
δύσμορος **487.** 4.
δυσχερής **477.** 33.
δῶμα **487.** 4.
δῶρον **478.** 117, 136; **492.** 31.

ἐάν (ἤν) **482.** 13; **489.** 94, 96.
ἑαυτοῦ **476.** 37.

ἐγγράφειν **489.** 118.
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ἐγκωμιάζειν **509.** 9.
ἐγώ, ἡμεῖς **477.** (23); **478.** 46; **482.** 7, 19; **483.** 7; **484.** 6, 15 (?); **487.** 27, 36; **489.** 11, [79], 90, 100, 111; **493.** 126, 141; **502.** 3; **506.** 10; **507.** 8.
ἔγωγε **493.** 87.
ἕδρα **478.** 30; **505.** 13.
ἐθέλειν **539.** 100.
εἰ **476.** 11; **477.** (5), (14); **482.** [15]; **489.** 72; **539.** 110 (?). εἰ καί **507.** 10. εἰ δὲ μή **489.** 46; **512.** 9.
εἰδέναι **477.** 17 margin.
εἰκόσι **478.** 113.
εἰκών **478.** 62.
εἶναι **475.** 28, 29; **476.** 36; **477.** 11 margin, (1), (3), (23), (25), 39 margin, 42 margin; **478.** 2; **482.** 7, 18; **483.** 4 margin; **487.** 9, 10, 22; **488.** 21, 22; **489.** 72, 98; **493.** 109, [116], 123; **513.** 9.
εἴπερ **489.** 78.
εἴργειν **482.** 9 (?).
εἰρήνη **491.** 25, 41.
εἰς, ἐς **478.** 27, 46, 151; **482.** 3; **489.** [49], 69, 73, 116; **490.** [11], 30; **491.** 19, 22; **493.** 77, 151.
εἷς **477.** (5); **478.** 7, 41; **485.** [4]; **489.** 105.
εἰσάγειν **509.** 4.
εἰσέπειτα **482.** 14 (?).
εἰσέρχεσθαι **520.** 1.
εἰσορᾶν **487.** 23; **488.** 8.
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εἶτα **482.** 5; **540.** xxi. 34.
ἐκ **482.** 5, 19; **489.** 103, 105; **510.** r. 4.
ἕκαστος **490.** 55; **493.** 74, 80.
ἑκάτερος **510.** r. 2.
ἑκατέρωσε **492.** 15.
ἑκατόν **478.** 115, 116.
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ἐκλέγειν **478.** 110.
ἐκπίπτειν **476.** 3.
ἔκπωμα **504.** 11.
ἑκών **477.** (23).
ἐλαύνειν **478.** 21.
ἔλαφος **478.** 117.
ἔλεγχος **477.** 5 margin.
Ἑλένη **478.** 147; **540.** xxi. 33.
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ἐλεύθερος **487.** 26.
Ἕλλας **492.** 49; **499.** 8; **501.** 2.
Ἑλληνικός **478.** 146; **482.** 8; **540.** xxi. 29.
Ἐλπήνωρ **487.** 4.
ἐμαυτοῦ **489.** 47, 63, 74, 93, 104.
ἐμός **484.** 2; **489.** 71, 106; **493.** 124.
ἐμπίπτειν **482.** 10.
ἐν **475.** 18 margin; **476.** 36; **478.** 7, 25, [84], 111, 133; **484.** 10; **486.** 8; **489.** 40; **492.** [31], 48; **510.** r. 8; **540.** xxi. 32. ἐν τούτῳ **478.** [84], [111].
ἐνάντιος **478.** 16.
ἐνστρέφειν **499.** 5 (?).
ἐνταῦθα **478.** 28.
ἐντρέπεσθαι **511.** 2.
ἐξάγειν **482.** 12 (?).
ἐξαποστέλλειν **491.** 12.
ἐξεῖναι **476.** 12.
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ἐξεσθίειν (ἐκφαγεῖν) **483.** 10.
ἐξετάζειν **484.** 7.
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ἐξουσία **478.** 7.
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ἐπαρκεῖν **475.** 23 (?).
ἔπαρχος **476.** 10.
ἐπαχθής **477.** 36 margin.
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ἔπειτα **482.** [3]; **493.** 136.
ἐπέρχεσθαι **484.** 1.
ἕπεσθαι **478.** 21, 58.
ἐπί **477.** 5 margin; **487.** 15; **489.** 108; **490.** 8; **493.** 33, 38, 79; **495.** 3; **499.** 14: **510.** v. 4 (?), 8.
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ἐπιέναι **493.** 79.
ἐπικεῖσθαι **478.** 89.
ἐπιμεμ[**517.** v. 8.
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ἐπίσκοπος **476.** 39.
ἐπίστασθαι **493.** 88; **507.** 8.
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Ἐρυξίμαχος **489.** 38.
ἔρχεσθαι **482.** 2, 6; **550.** 31.
ἐρωτᾶν **493.** 85; **511.** 1.
ἐσθής **478.** 129.
ἑσπέρα **482.** 12.
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ἔτος **498.** 3.
εὖ **482.** 13 (?). εὖ ποιεῖν **493.** 35.
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εὐπειθής **491.** 9.
εὑρίσκειν **477.** 26 margin; **497.** 7.
Εὐρύμαχος **487.** 27.
εὐσέβεια **478.** 45.
Εὐσέβιος **507.** 9.
ἐφαρμόζειν **493.** 7, 21, 37, 76, 154.
ἐφευρίσκειν **489.** 80 (?).
ἐφίζειν **499.** 2 (?).
ἐφόδιον **490.** 55.
ἔφοδος **488.** 26.
ἔχειν **477.** (10), (30), 39 margin; **484.** 4; **485.** 3; **493.** 124; **499.** 6; **508.** 14.
ἐχέφρων **487.** [29].
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ἡγεμών **478.** 2; **505.** 9.
ἤδη **489.** 107; **491.** 5.
ἥκειν **491.** 22.
ἥλιος **486.** 7; **496.** 3 (?).
ἡμέτερος **501.** 11.
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Ἤπειρος **476.** 40.
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θεοφιλής **508.** 4 (?).
θεωρεῖν **478.** 91.
Θηβαῖοι **490.** 28, 48, 51, 59.
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θρασύς **484.** 5.
θυμός **486.** [4].
θωρήσσειν **487.** 27.

ἰατρός **497.** 12.
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ἱδρύειν **478.** 30.
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ἱερός **478.** [110]; **484.** 13 (?); **485.** [4].
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ἵνα **489.** 70.
ἰξός **493.** 106, 113.
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ἵππος **493.** 21, 24, 26, 29 (?).
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ἰσχυρός **493.** 19.
ἴσως **510.** v. 8.
Ἰταλώνιος **478.** 43.

καθαιρεῖν **489.** 108.
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καθιστάναι **489.** 49, 73.
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κακότης **487.** 28, 35.
κακῶς **476.** 11; **493.** 36.
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καλύβη **478.** 95.
καλῶς **475.** 10, 19 margin; **477.** (29).
Κάρ **501.** 10.
καρδία **485.** 5.
κάρτερος **506.** 8.
Καρχηδών **491.** 14, 23.
κατά **487.** 27; **489.** 71; **493.** 35; **540.** xxi. 29; **545.** 143.
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καταγγέλλειν **477.** (13).
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καταδιαιτᾶν **489.** 115.
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κατατιθέναι **487.** 30.
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κατηγορία **489.** 59 (?).
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(*a*) Astronomical, Mathematical, and Astrological[1]

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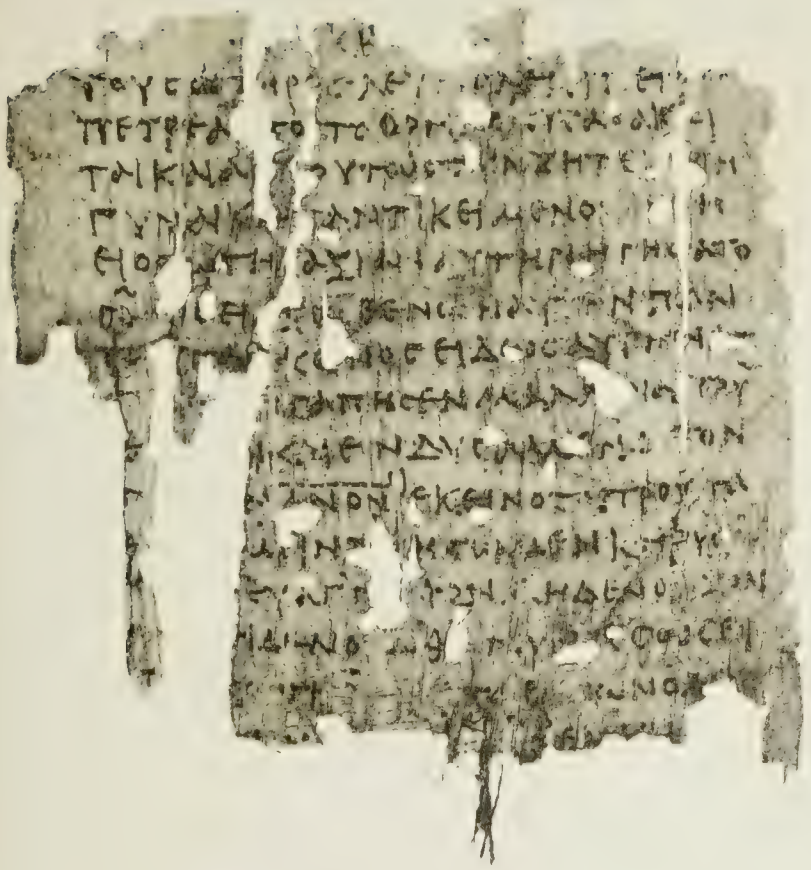

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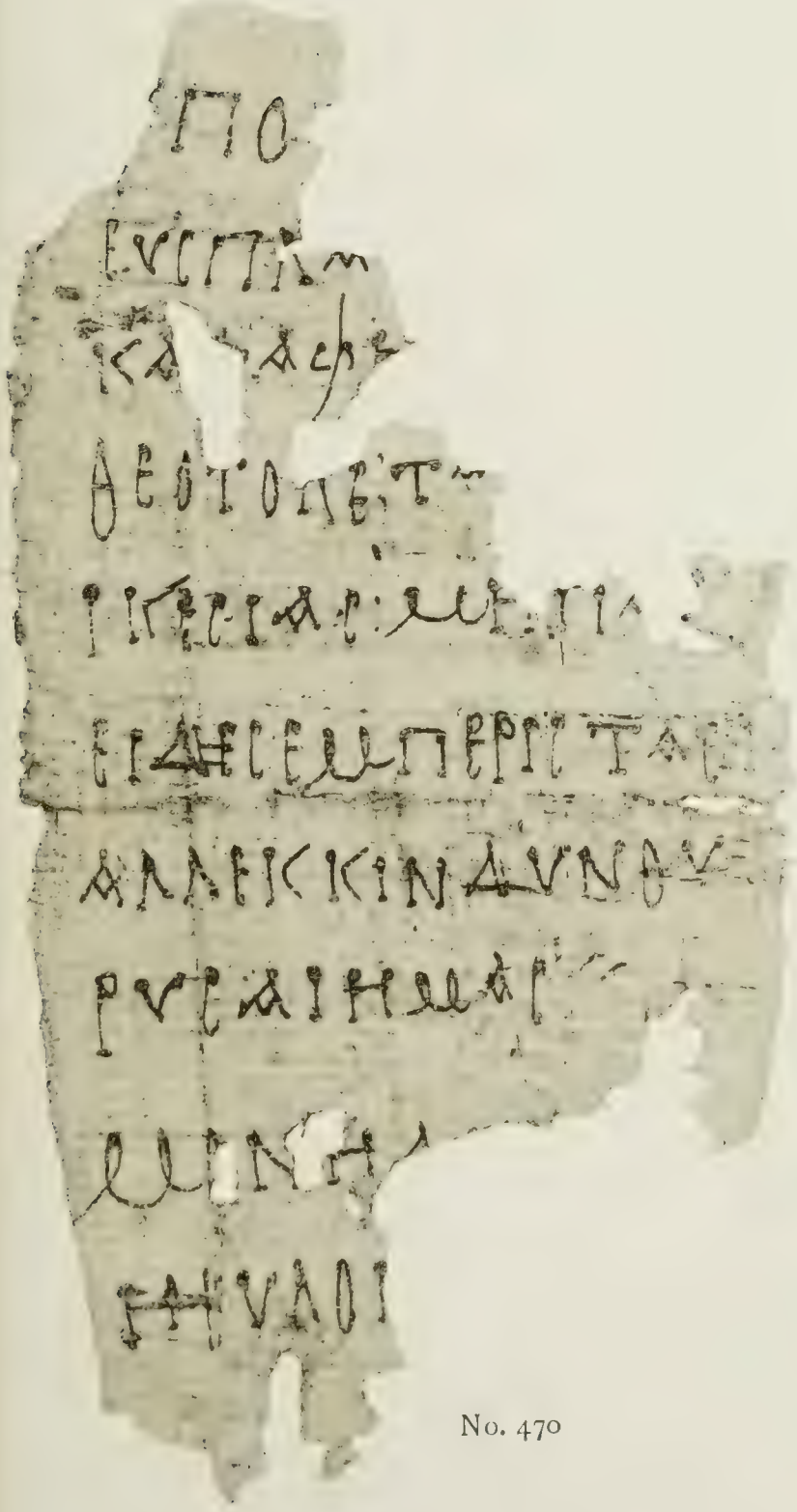

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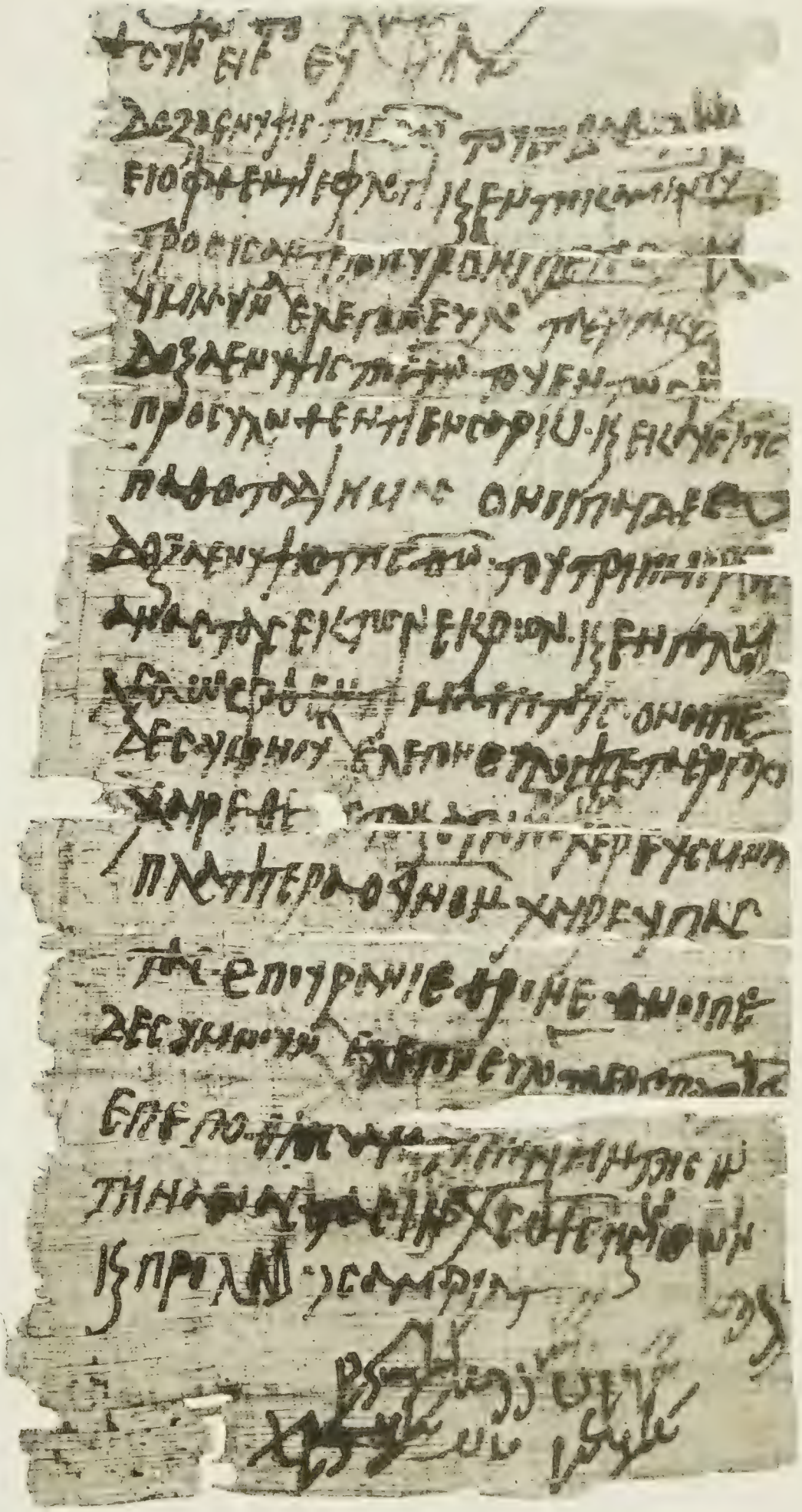

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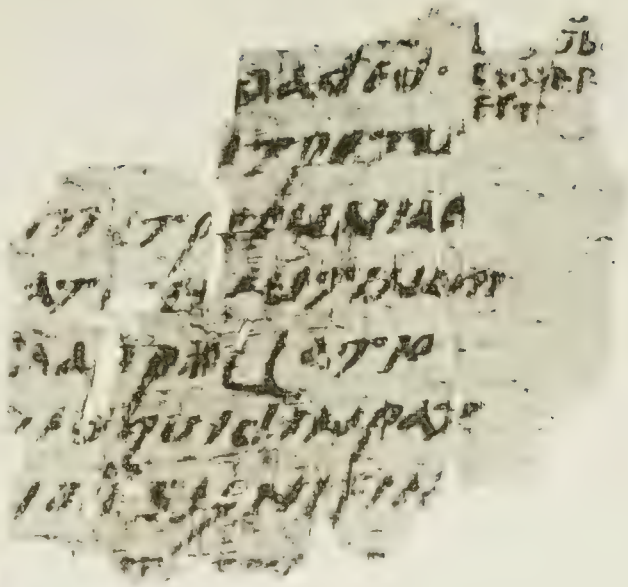

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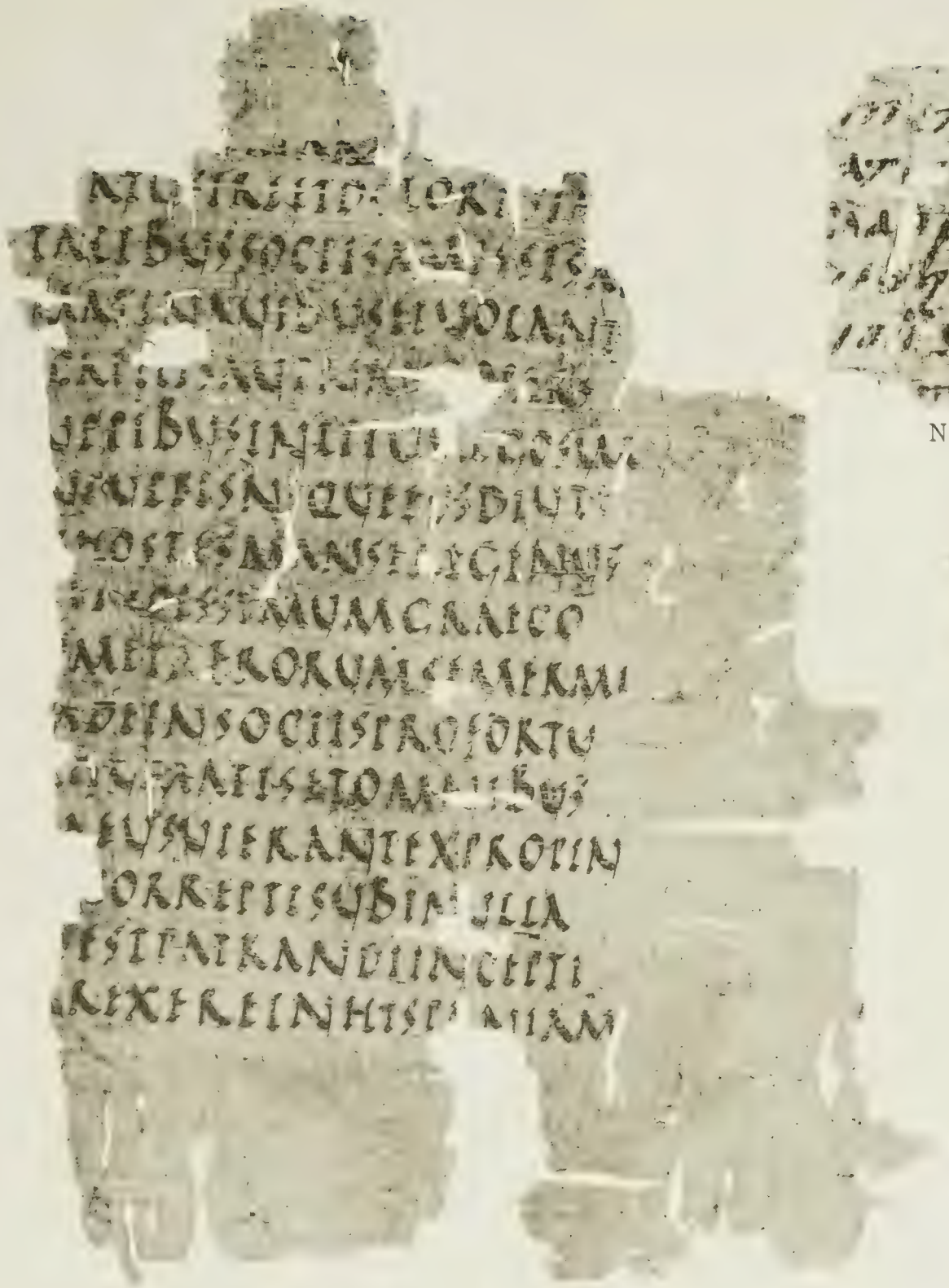

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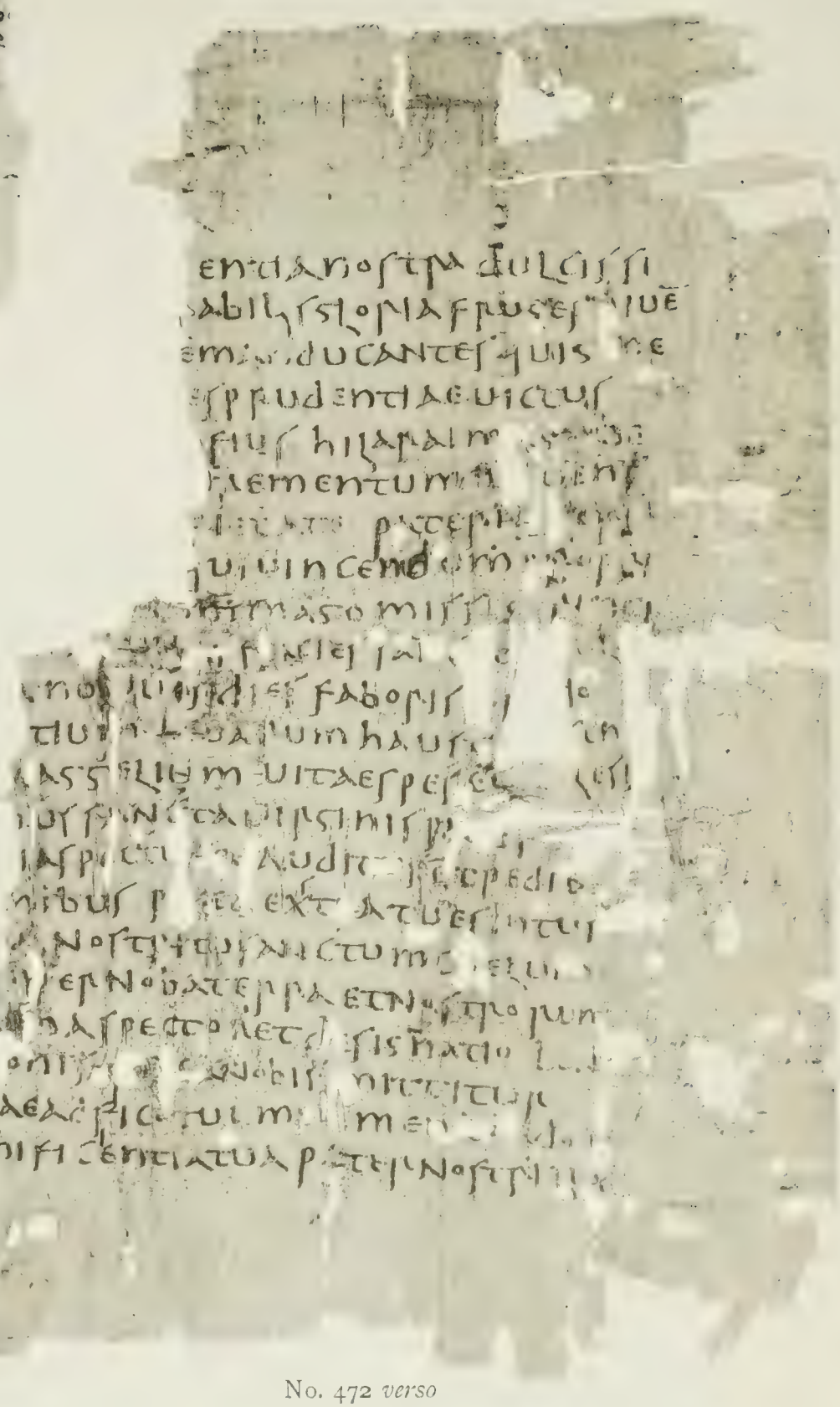

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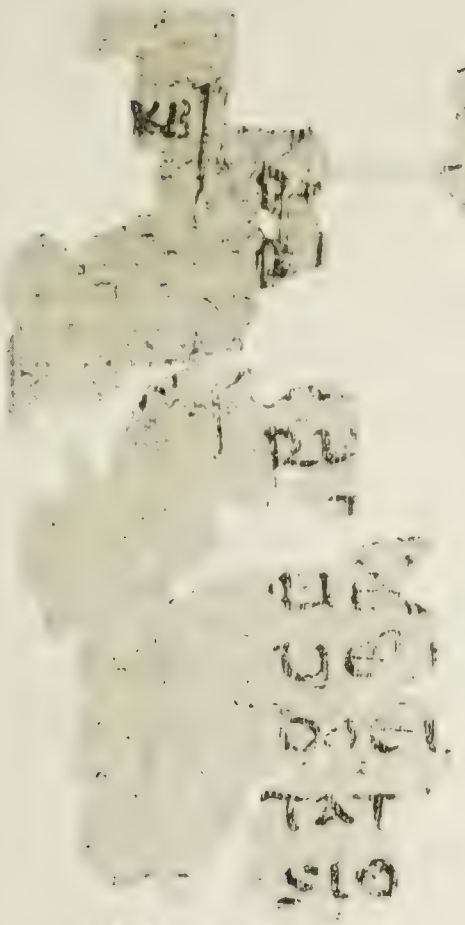

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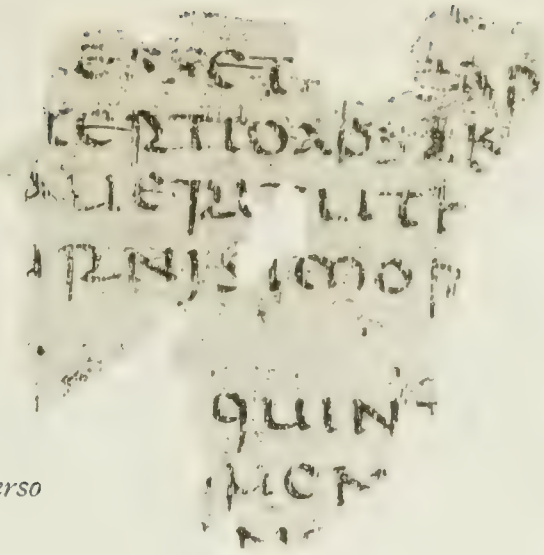

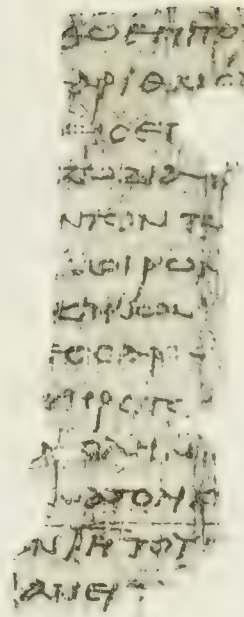

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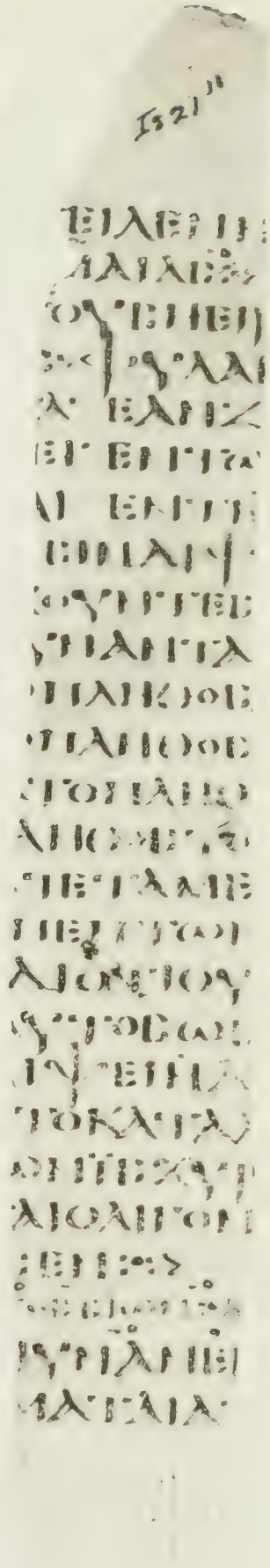

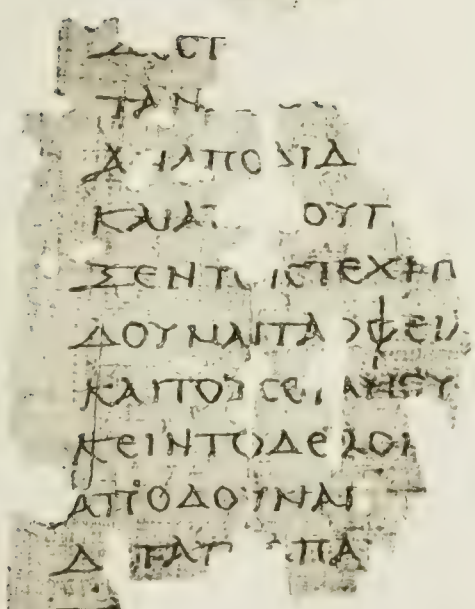

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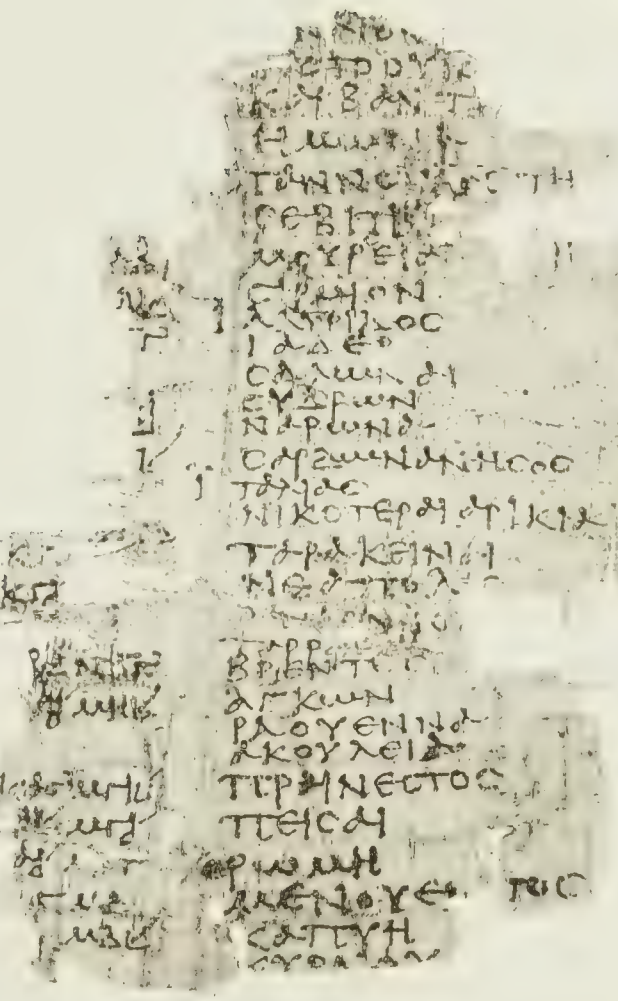

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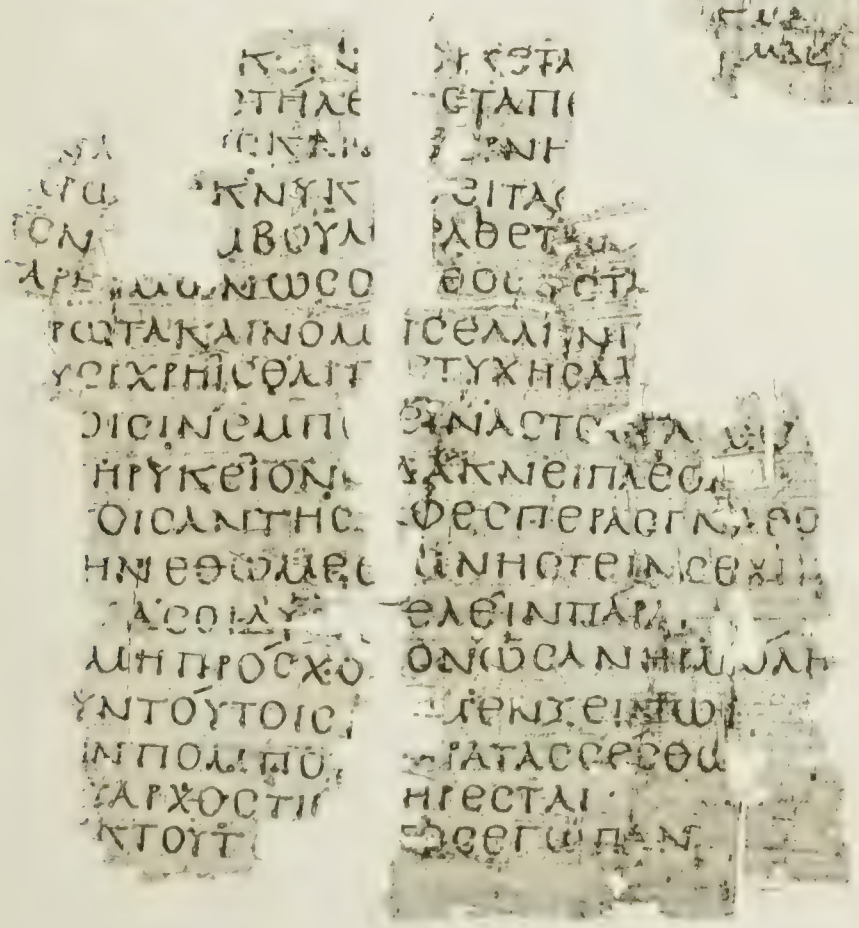

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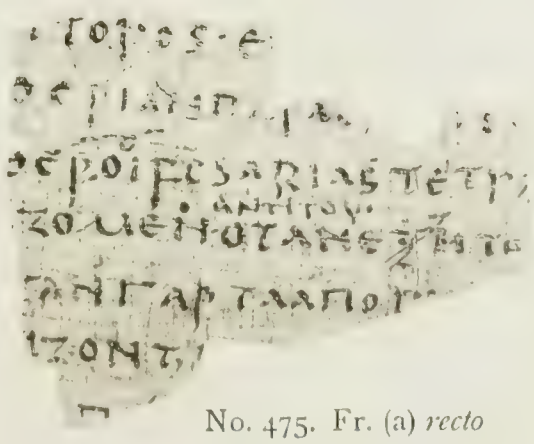

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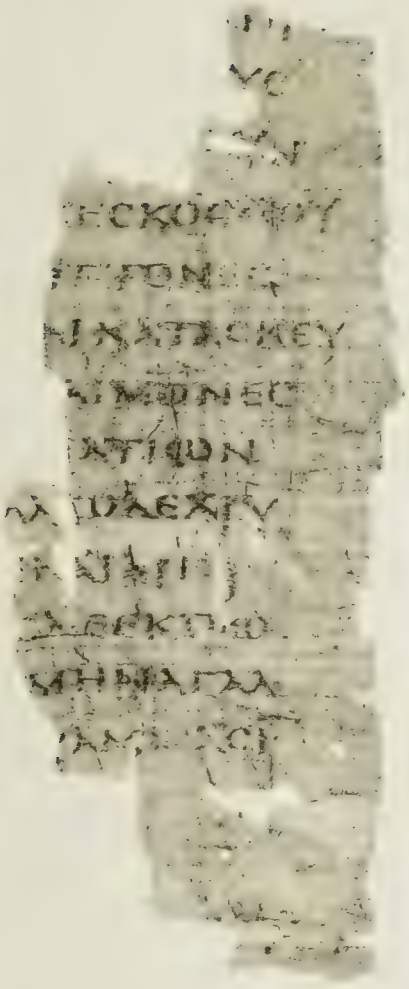

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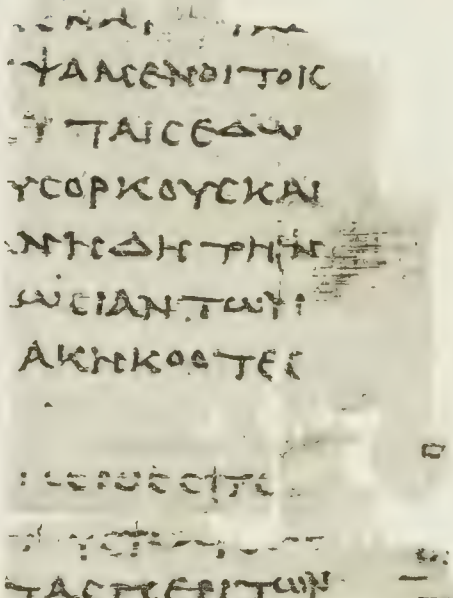

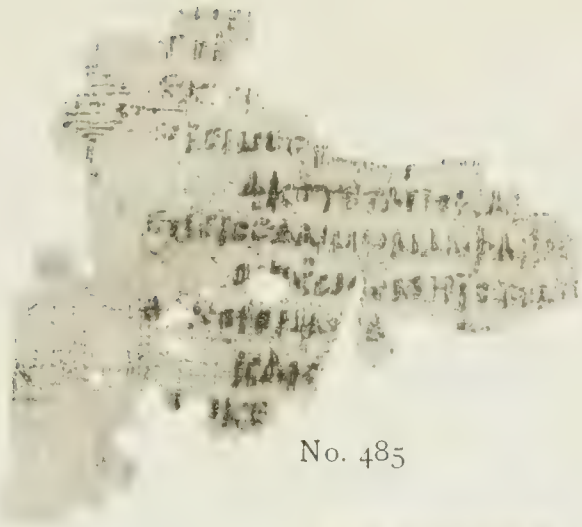

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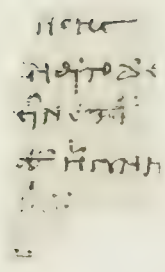

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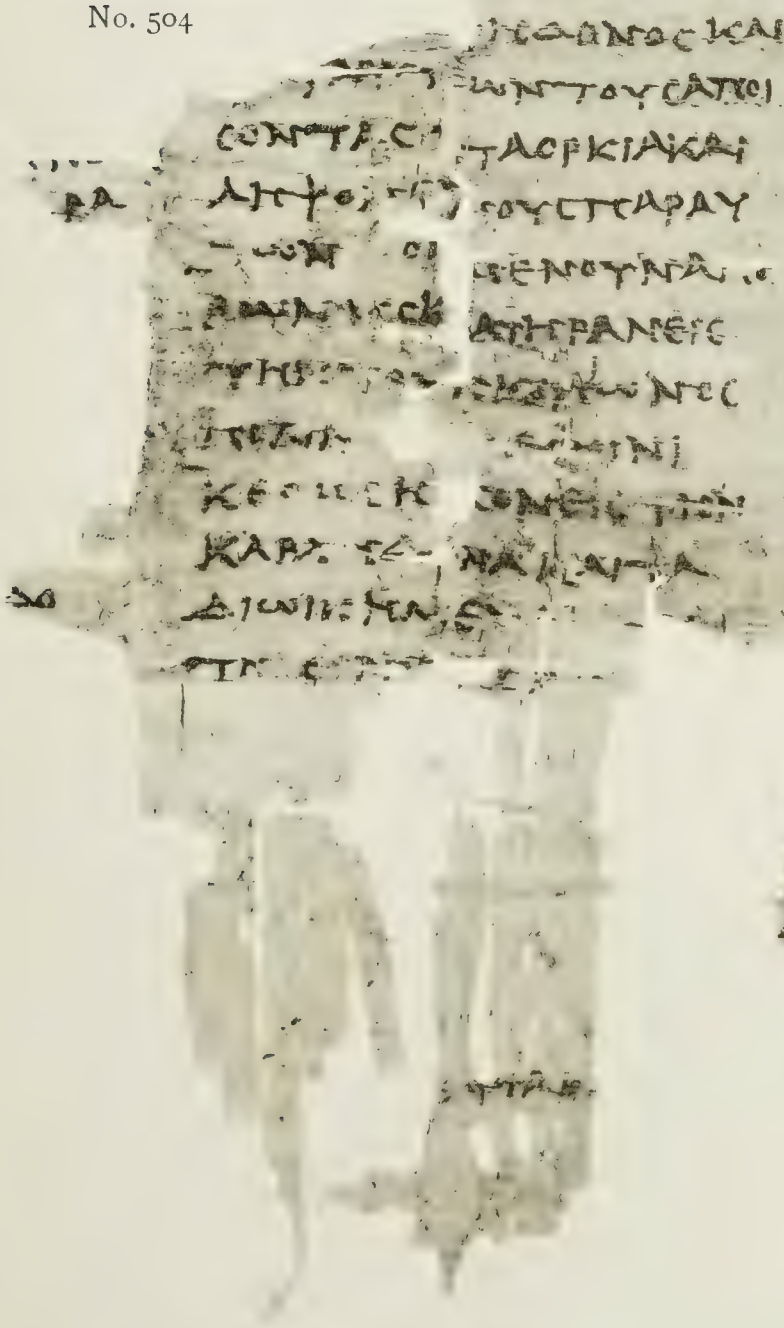

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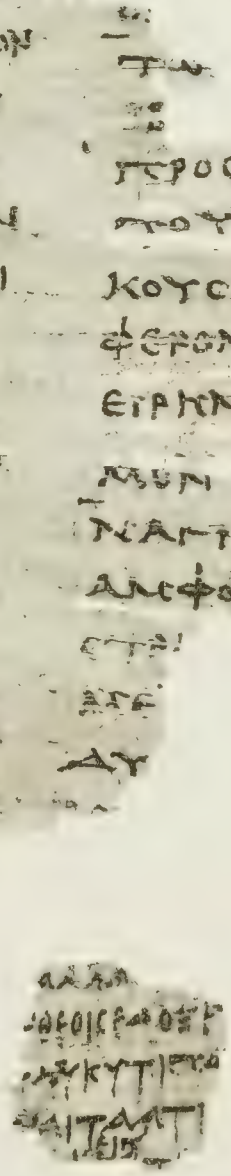

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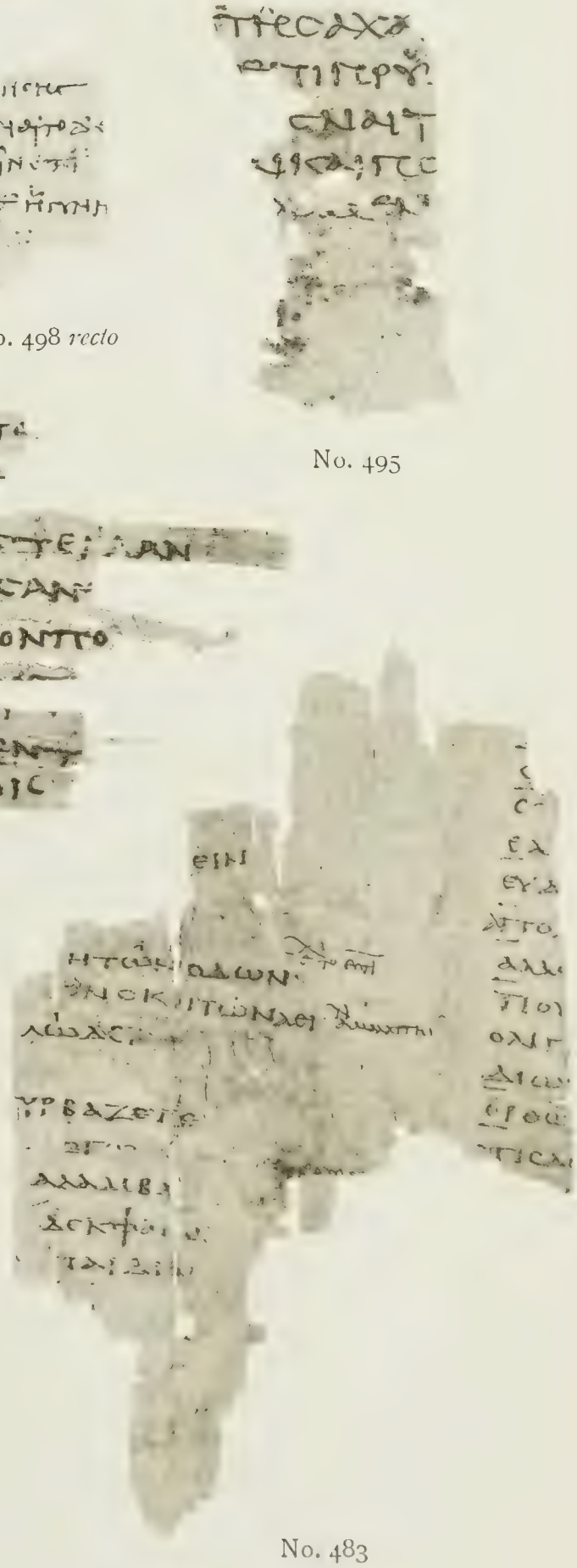

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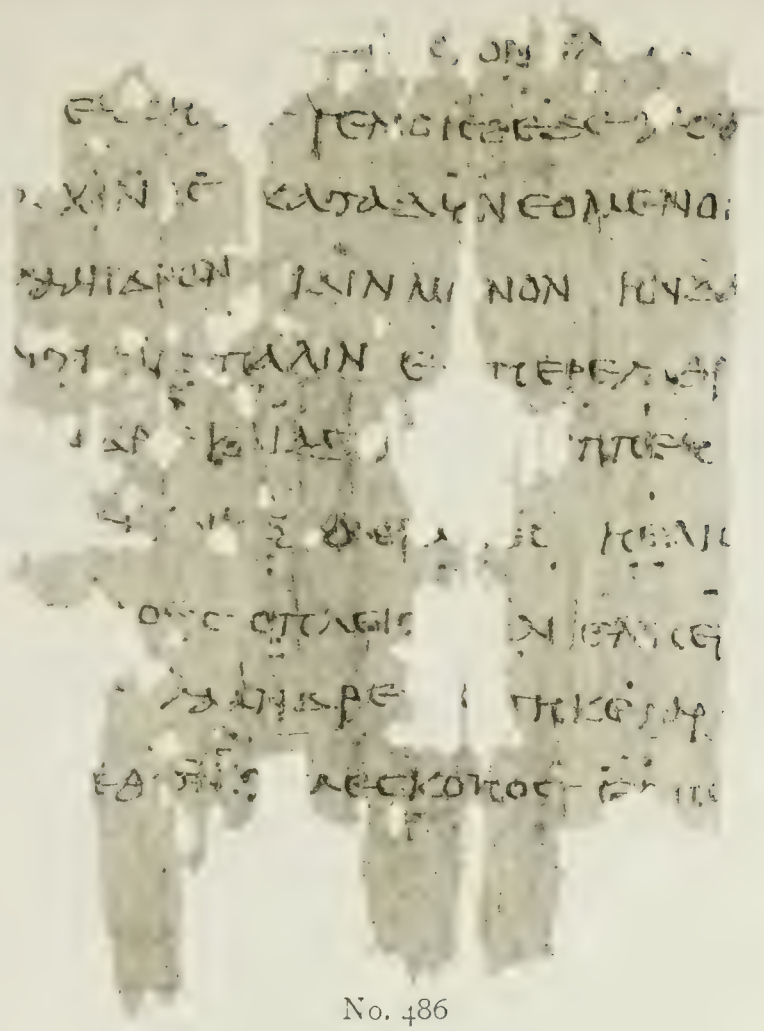

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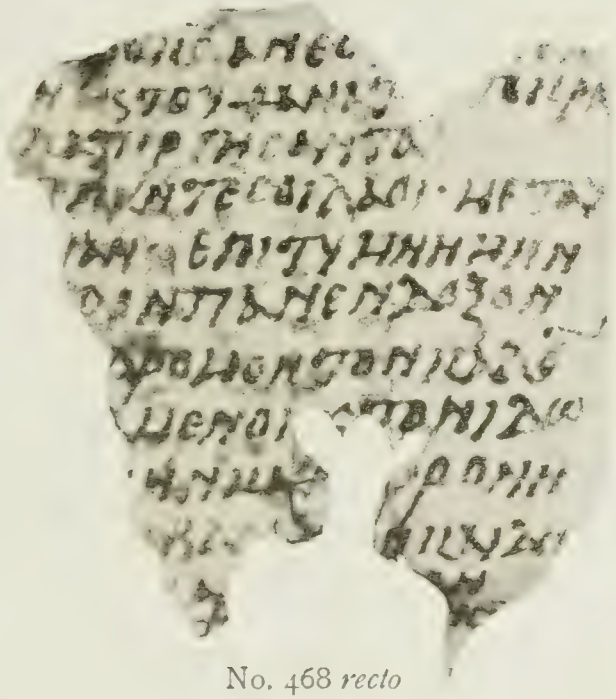

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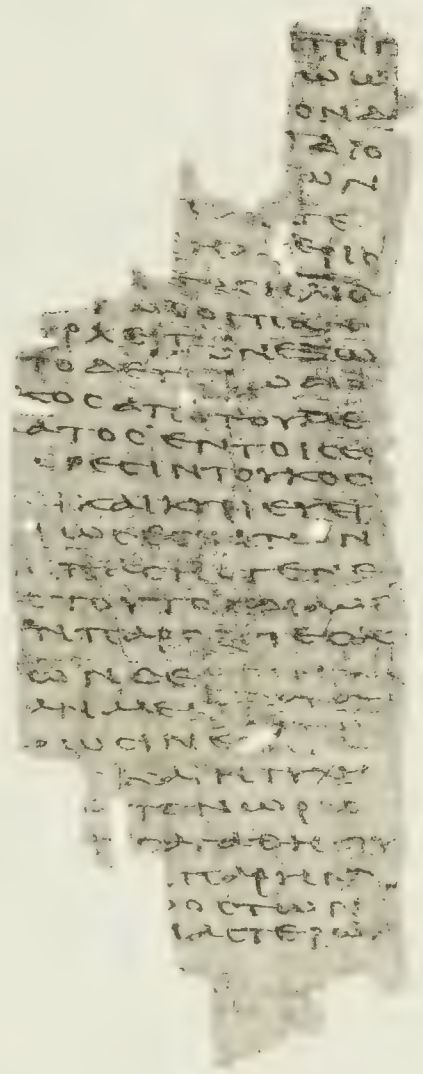

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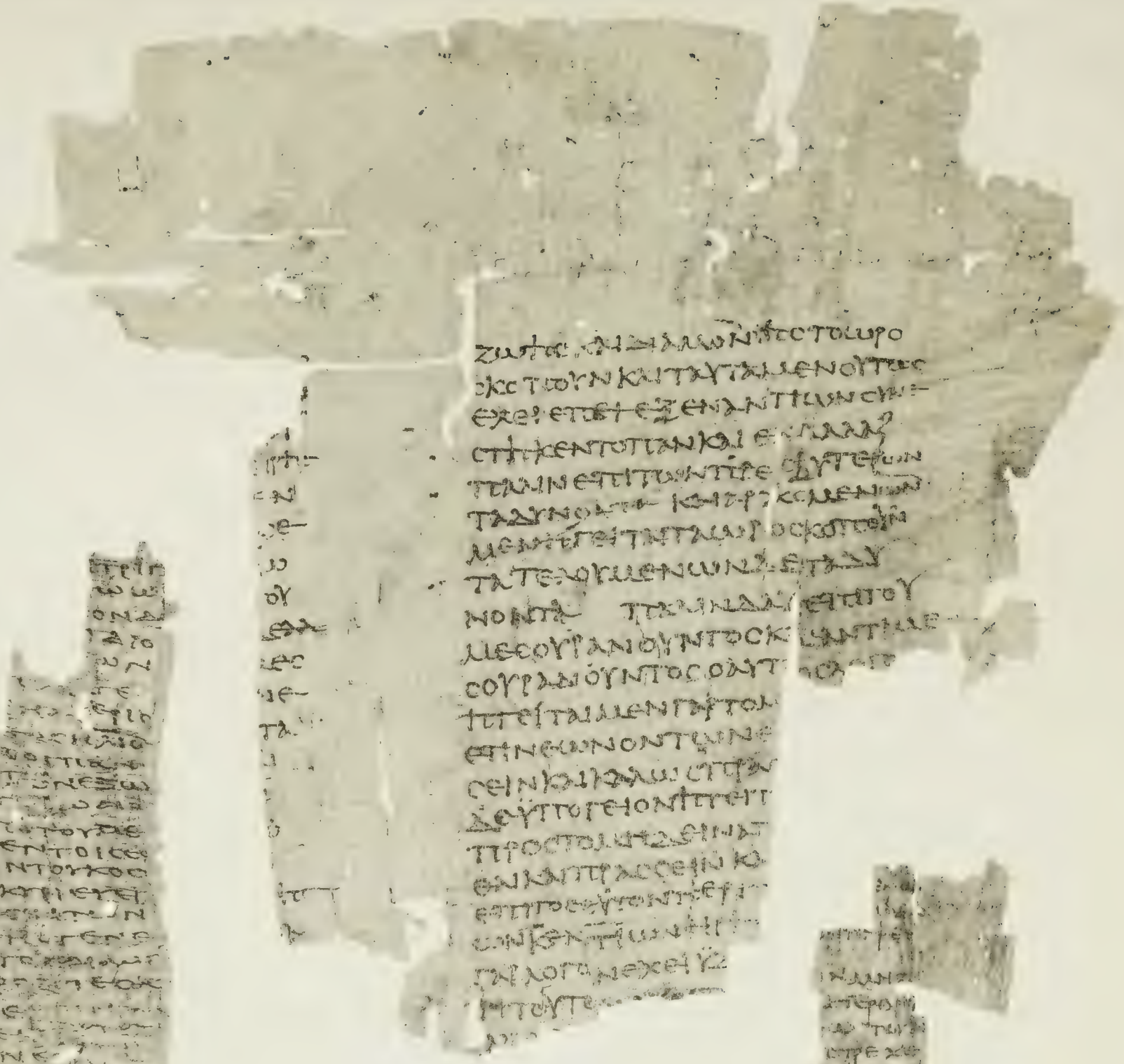

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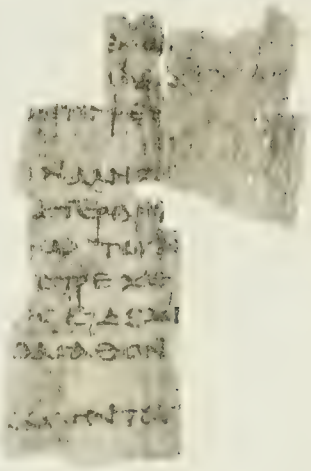

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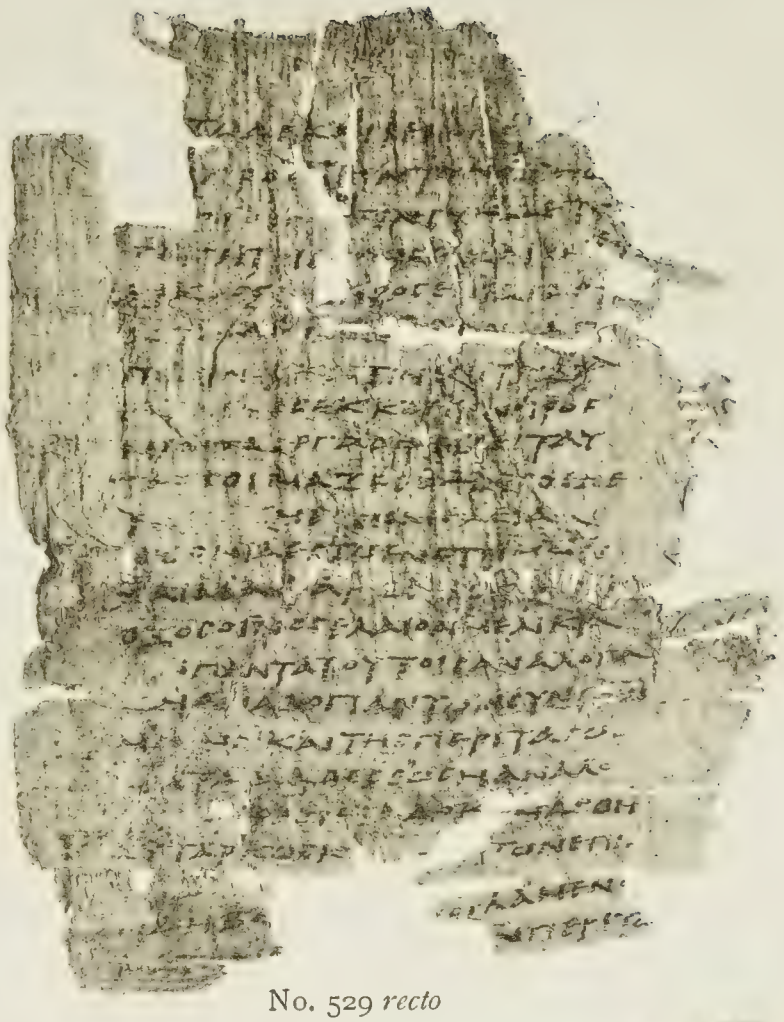

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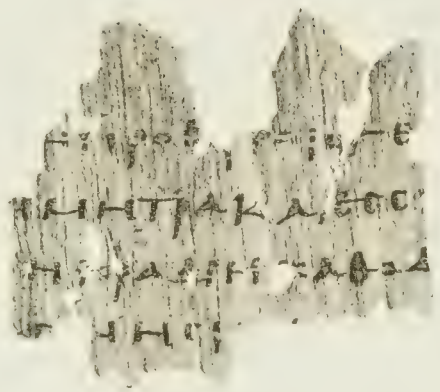

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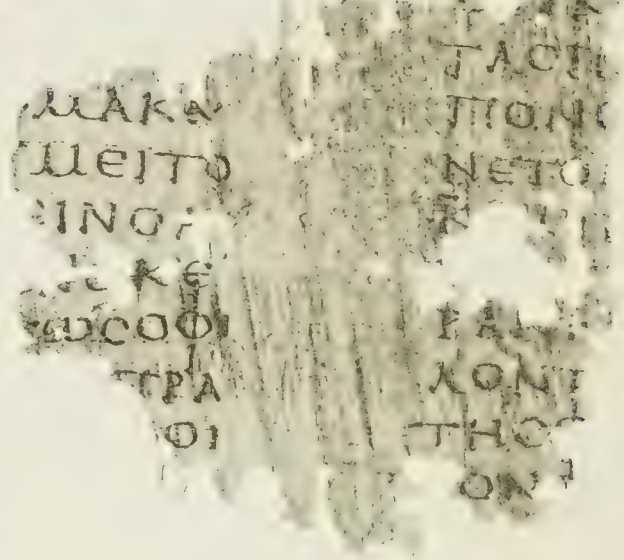

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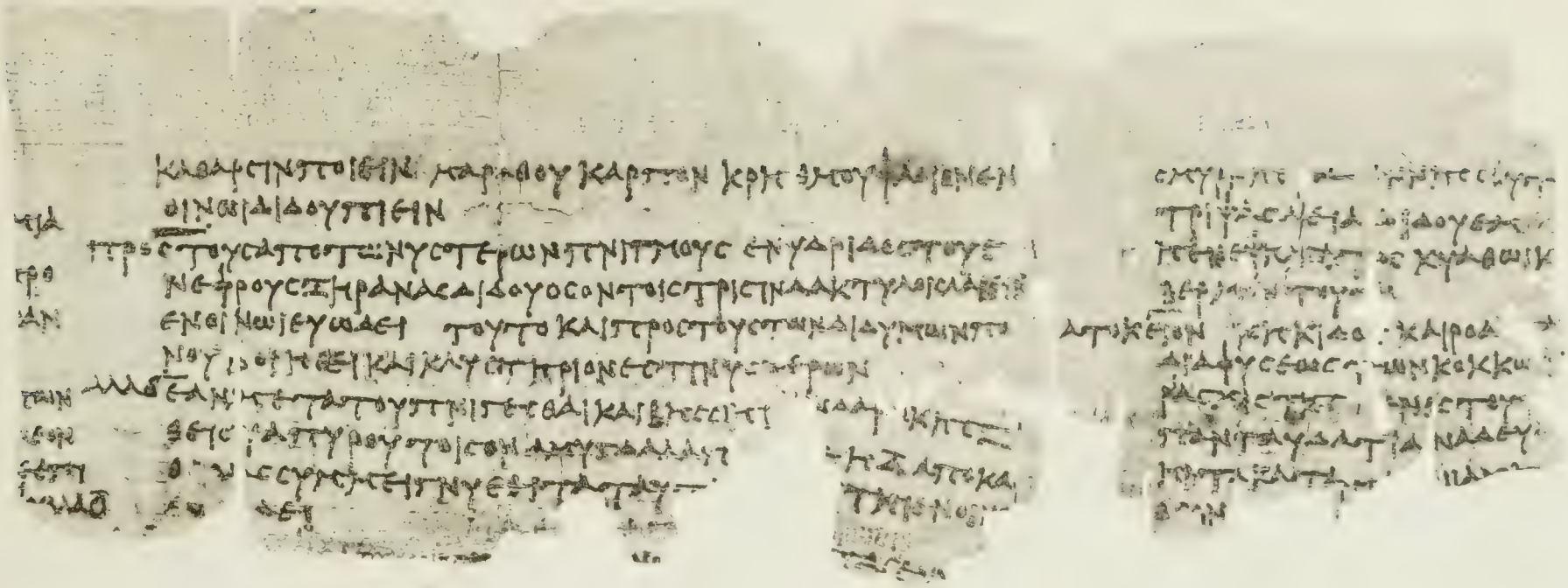

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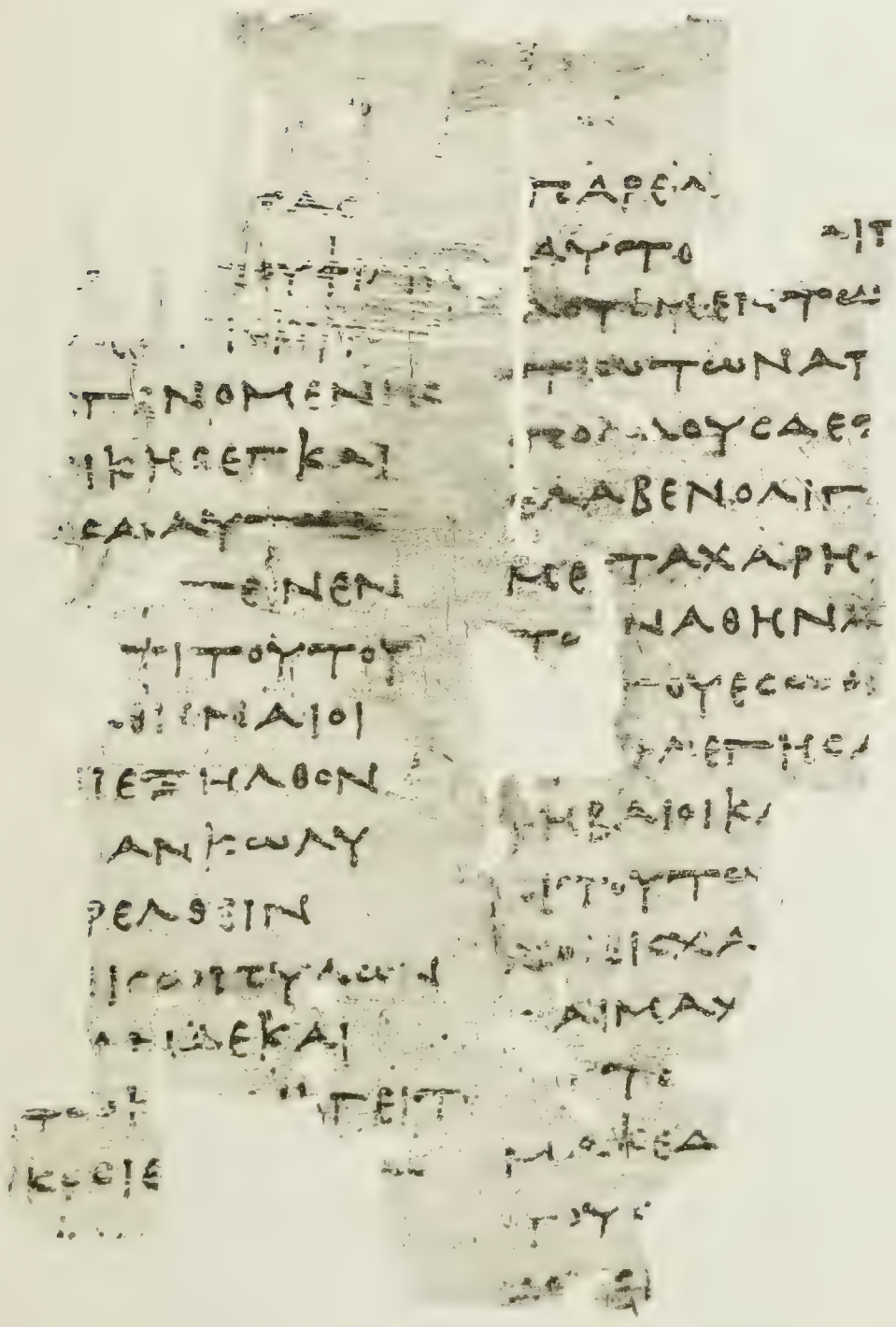

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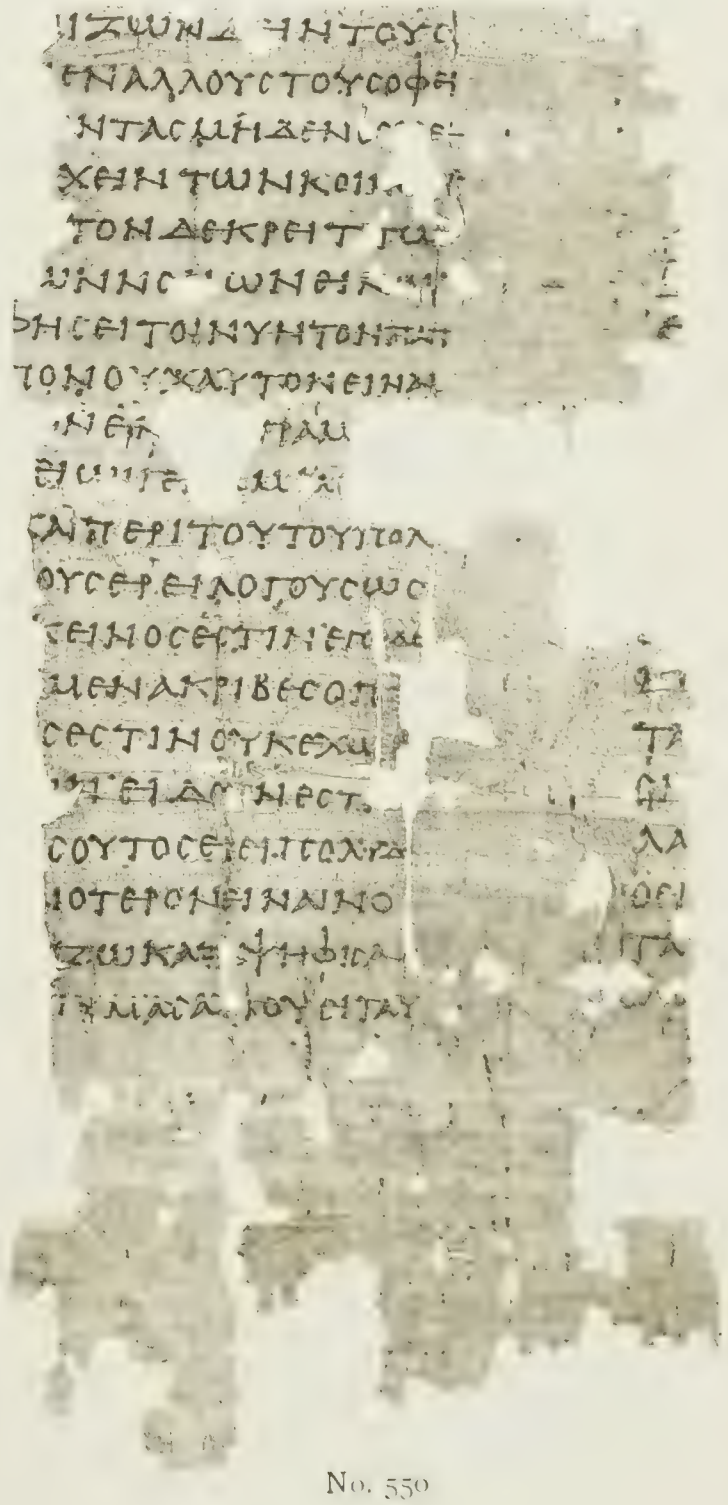

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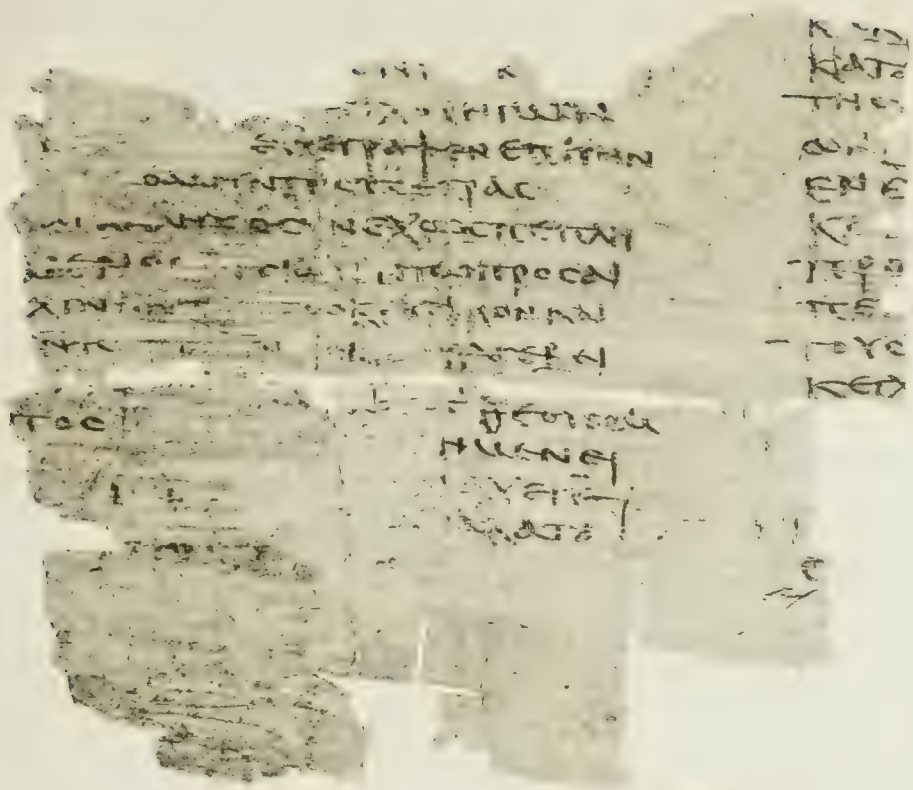

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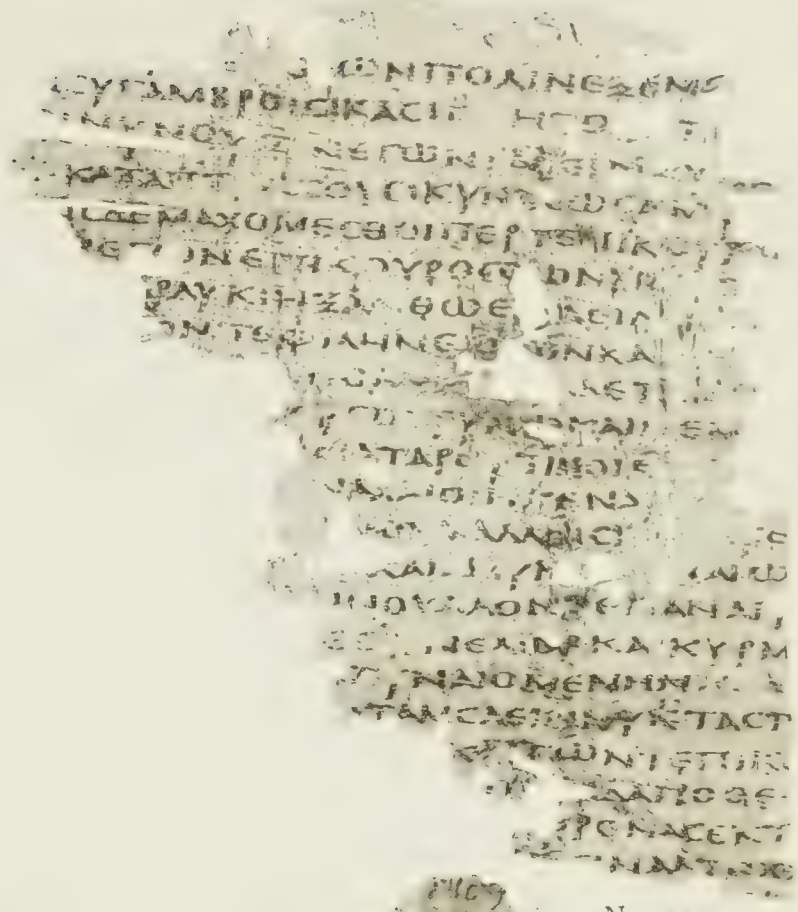

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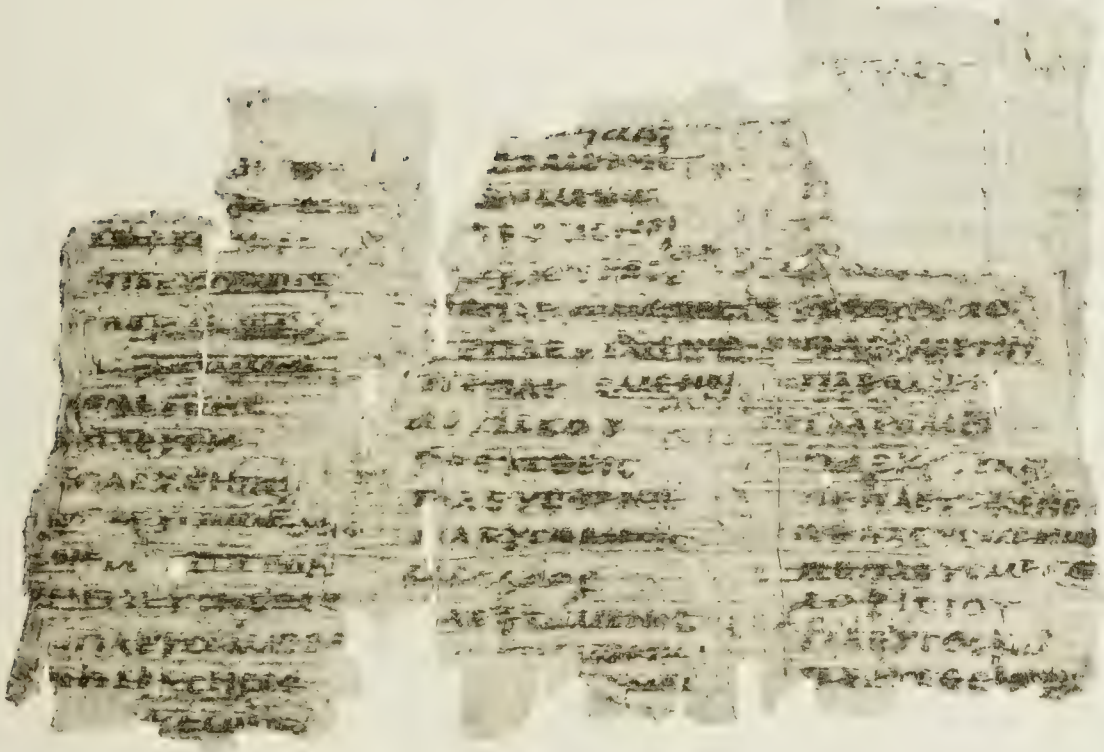

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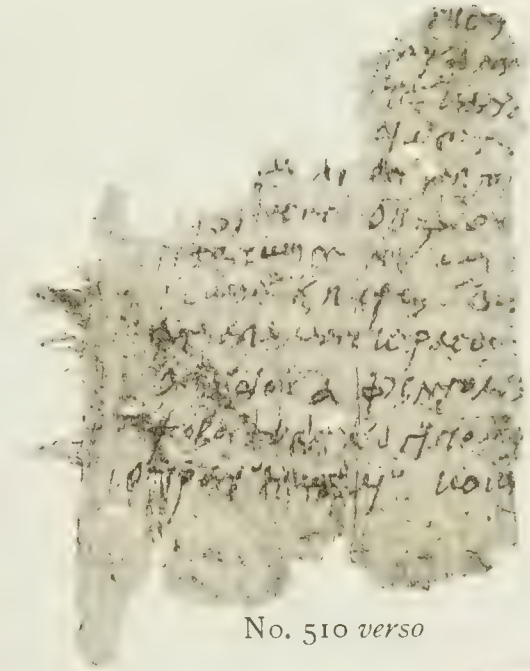

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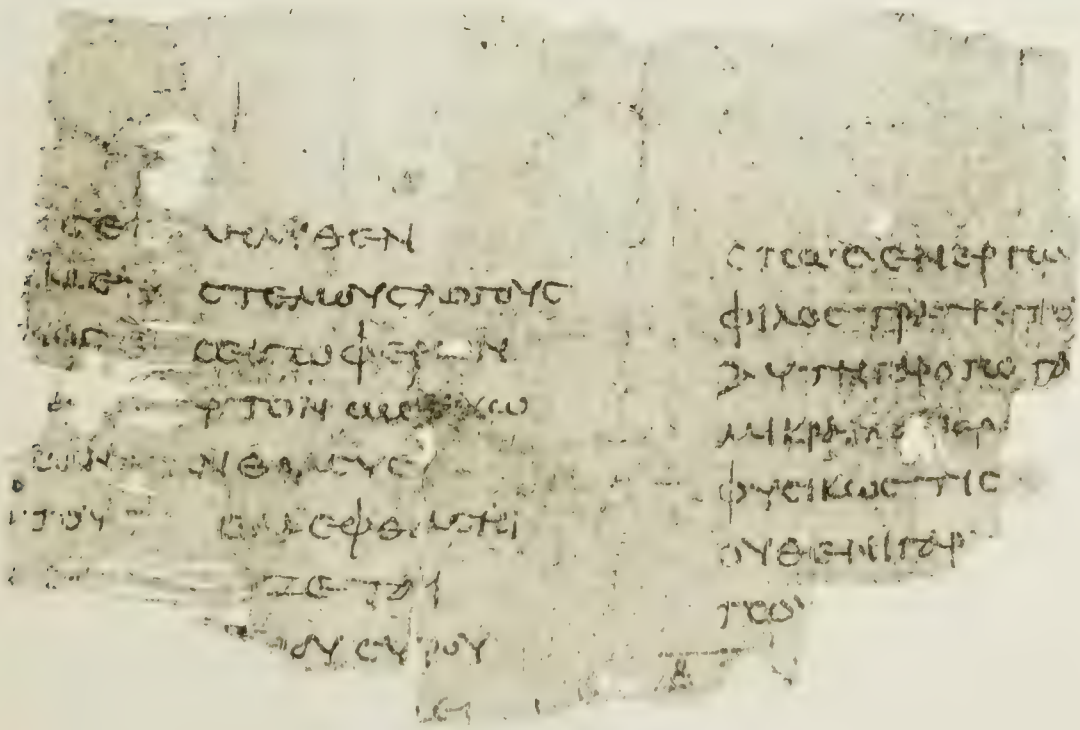

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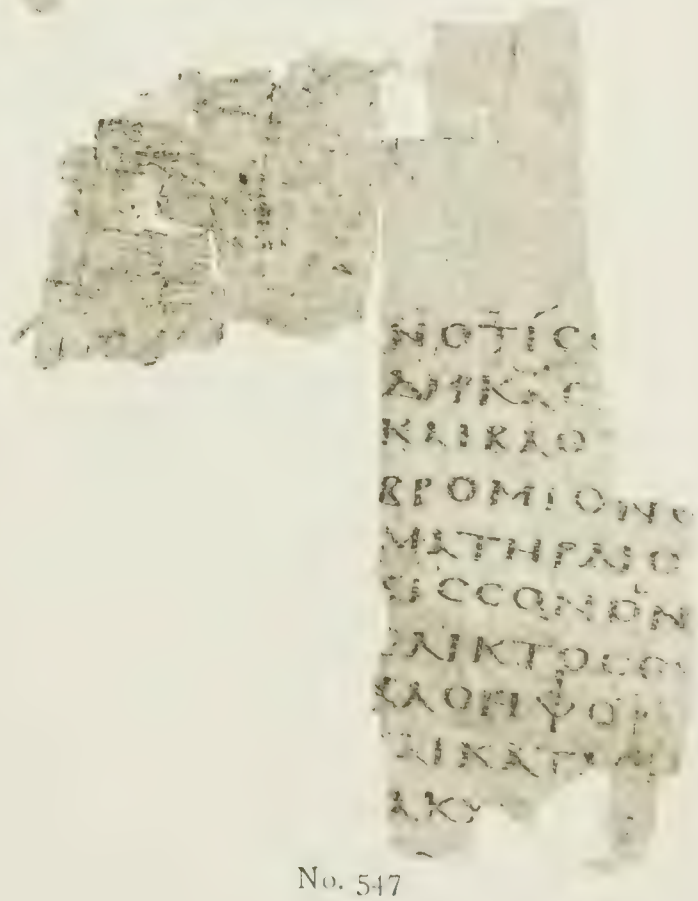

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